

# DE BOW'S REVIEW:

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

OF

Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Internal Improvements,  
Statistics, etc., etc.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY 1, 1846.

---

VOL. XVII.

AUGUST, 1854.

No. 2.

---

## Art. I.—THE PROGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

If there is one sentiment which more than every other characterizes the American citizen, it is that of an earnest and intense devotion to the institutions of his country, coupled with a practical and working faith, stronger than all power of refutation, that ours is the very best country, and we the very best people, and that little or nothing in the policy or progress of neighboring nations is calculated to excite our envy or to provoke our emulation.

This comfortable conviction seems to have neither the affinities of the North or the South, or the East or the West, to sustain it, but everywhere over our broad domain—in the workshop—in the hamlet—on the hustings—in the Senate, is welling up spontaneously from the heart, defiant of every corrupting art of the fanatic and the demagogue, smoothing over the rough and jagged points of sectional rivalry, settling the terms of great compromises.

I am a Roman—never carried with it higher claims to power, or was uttered with sterner pride, than—I am an American Citizen.

Is this but the amiable vanity of country, which exists alike in China and Patagonia—is it but the spirit of bravado and gasconade, of which foreigners everywhere accuse us, and of which I feel we are not altogether guiltless; or have we indeed a reason for our faith, an intelligible reason—not sufficient only to satisfy ourselves, but all men, that it is founded in truth and right?

When the Revolution handed over to us the Republic, won by the blood and the sword of our ancestors, it embraced a territory little greater than that of our possessions on the Pacific at the present moment. Exposed on its frontiers to the attacks of numerous tribes of remorseless savages—cut off in its western limits from the ocean, by the possessions of a power hostile to us in

feeling, and different from us in language—the Republic has advanced in its course, dealing with the savage with justice and magnanimity, and obtaining only by fair concessions what was necessary to its development; and in passing the boundaries of the Mississippi, and sweeping across the great mountains to the Western Ocean, it has violated no law of good neighborhood, but relied upon those of negotiation and purchase, or the results of a just war, undertaken in maintenance of the integrity of the national domain. From a territory of less than 900,000 square miles the Republic has swelled into over *three* millions of miles, being nearly one-half of the whole of North America. This vast domain is nearly ten times as large as that of Great Britain and Ireland and France combined—three times as large as the whole of France, Great Britain and Ireland, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark together—one and a half times as large as the Russian Empire in Europe—one-sixth less only than the area covered by the fifty-nine or sixty empires, states and republics of Europe—of equal extent with the Roman Empire, or that of Alexander, neither of which is said to have exceeded three millions of square miles.

Already does our empire extend over domain wider than that of the Romans in their proudest days of conquest.

From the Island of Brazos in the Gulf of Mexico, to the Straits of Fuca on the Northern Pacific; from the Aroostook Valley to the Bay of San Diego, the Union extends its leviathan proportions. The inhabitants of these extreme points, more distant than the shores of the Old and New World apart, on the usual routes of travel, are brothers and fellow-citizens under common laws and with a common destiny. It is as though the Shetland Islands and the Bosphorus, Siberia and the gates of Hercules, were made the outports of an empire which embraced the whole of Europe. For such an empire Alexander and Cæsar sighed in vain, and Napoleon deluged Europe in blood.\*

Viewed in its great geographical divisions, the portions which are watered by rivers falling into the Atlantic and the Pacific are respectively of very nearly equal areas; whilst the great interior valley has an extent but little less than the Pacific and Atlantic regions combined.

Considered in less geographical divisions, the area of the Northwestern States is nearly two and a half times as large as that of the Northern—twice as large as the Southwestern—four times as large as the Southern—eight times as large as the Middle States—fifteen as large as New-England.

Divided as slave territory and free territory, exclusive of unformed territorial governments, the slave States have one and a third times the territory of the free States.

\* An occasional passage in this article has previously been used by the editor.

The shore line of this great empire, including the indentures of bays, &c., is 12,609 miles, equal to one-half the circumference of the earth; or if we follow the irregularities of islands and enter the rivers as far as tide extends, the total shore line of the United States will be found to be 33,069 miles, or one and one-third the circumference of the earth.

The possession of so vast a domain would almost (under any other form of government than that which has been devised by the wisdom of our forefathers) have been an element of weakness and oppression rather than of strength. The happy idea of clustering together separate sovereignties, each independent of the other, and legislating for its own immediate wants, yet all of them combined together into one for certain domestic and foreign purposes, clearly defined by compact, has for the first time in the history of the world rendered Republicanism compatible with unlimited extension and liberty—compatible with permanency and strength.

Without this principle of our system, the power of the national government would soon degenerate into tyranny—a tyranny not the less crushing because it would be one of numbers or of majorities, rather than of one man or of a few men.

A central power legislating for interests as diverse and as remote from each other, would have none the less of the attributes of that of Alexander or Darius, or the Czar of Russia, from being named democratic, and men would appeal to arms and to revolution against its aggressions. Even with our present system, the founders of the Republic doubted of its capacity of indefinite extension, and nothing but the discovery of the railroad and the telegraph has taken away the wisdom of that doubt.

It becomes us, after all, to reflect that mere territorial aggrandizement in itself has but a small part in constituting national power and greatness. The history of the world has proved this. Of what rank is Russia, with all of her immense domain, in contrast with Britain? Things, the most glorious and great in the world's history, have been achieved by states territorially as unimportant as the smallest of ours. Let this fact rebuke that thirst for new empire, which is taking such foothold on the Republic, and which is urging us to the commission of crimes against the majesty of law—the comity of nations—and the principles of universal justice. To populate and develop the great regions already under our flag, will be the work of centuries to us and our descendants. Better a league of Switzerland than all the arid plains of Tartary.

Let us not unveil too rapidly that future which is marked out for us, whether we will or not. Under Heaven, as it was the destiny of the savage aboriginal, incapable of civilization, and with no law of progress engrafted upon his nature, to fade away

before the steady advances of European arms and policy, so, the Anglo-Saxon element of America, by its flexibility and its power by the new elements which it has taken to itself in the trying, yet triumphant scenes through which it has passed, will and must, in the inevitable course of events, preside over the destinies of the Continent of America, aiding and directing them, adding life and vitality, rousing dormant and sleeping energies, and developing upon the theatre of the world, movements, in comparison with which, all that history can furnish, before the deluge, before the era of Christ, and since, shall dwindle into insignificance. It needs no ardent temperament to draw a stronger picture.

The population which achieved the Revolution was somewhat less than that of the present State of New-York. It was a population which had under the then system of colonial government required two hundred years in forming.

In less than 70 years from that time twenty millions of people have been added to that little Revolutionary nucleus—a ratio of increase without a parallel in the annals of mankind.

In the period between 1840 and 1850 the total increase reached about six millions of persons—an increase as considerable as the increase of Great Britain in 30 years, and of France in 40 years.

Of this population of the United States, two millions in 1850 were foreign born, and one million more may be estimated as the descendants of those who have come into the country since the Revolution, leaving over twenty millions independent of all emigration since the Revolution, but the descendants of those who formed a part of it.

Of the foreigners among us, 1,400,000 are natives of the British dominions, (1,000,000 nearly being Irish,) 600,000 are Germans, and 50,000 French. Thirteen millions of the natives are residents of States in which they were born, and over 4,000,000 are residing out of the States in which they were born.

One of the secrets of our marvellous energy and development as a people is the facility with which we adapt ourselves to new circumstances and relations of life. There is nothing in the charms of home—nothing in the dearest and tenderest associations of life, which can interpose a barrier for a moment to the spirit of restless adventure which is ever impelling us back from the old States to the new—from the Atlantic into the forests of the Mississippi, or across the frightful passes of the mountains, as fortune may seem to beckon us.

A growing American family will have its off-shoots in every section of the Union, and soon the old homestead will pass into the hands of a stranger. How marvellously must this strengthen the national feeling, and intensify the interest which the citizen of one part of the Union will have in every other!

What a striking illustration has been presented in the case of



California, of the restless spirit of American adventure, and of its indifference to local ties, to which we have adverted!

Men of all ages, of all arts, and pursuits and professions, from all classes of society, even surrounded with the greatest comforts and highest allurements of home, have forgotten their legitimate avocations, thrown aside lucrative posts and callings as utterly worthless, and braving the ocean for thousands and tens of thousands of miles, or inhospitable climes and frightful journeys through trackless wildernesses, in handfuls or in vast cavalcades, full of hope and enterprise, taken up their extraordinary pilgrimage to endure the fierce hardships of the placers of the Sacramento, and the mountain gorges, in the ceaseless search for gold. Wonderful, wonderful is this great passion for wealth, which, like a despot, rules over our wills, and controls and masters our associations and affections, and breaks up with remorseless strokes every link, and bond, and sacred connection in life! God, by it, works out the destinies of man.

Great as is the stimulant which this roving tendency of our people, noticeable by Burke so long ago, in his speech upon the colonies, has in the development of our national honor, let us not forget that it brings with it too a blight, closely wrapped up and concealed within it. Where will be the faith of a people who are ever destroying local attachments and the sympathies and affections of the family—with whom nothing is consecrated by time—with whom nothing but new and exciting scenes seem to be worthy of a moment's attention? Does it not endanger that State pride, which is the basis and hope of our institutions, and seek to give to nationality a power which in the event must be fatal to our liberties? Does not the existence of such a spirit impede the highest and noblest aspirations of the heart, and give to man something of the character of the mechanism of the iron locomotive which conducts his motions?

It is not possible that the tide of emigration from abroad to our country can continue very long. The improvements in the arts, and the discharge of the surplus, will render the inducements abroad to emigrate less and less. New outlets to emigration are opening in other countries, as in Australia, Canada, &c. It is against all the precedents of history that such a state of things should long continue. Though our territories seem to be boundless, population has not a necessary tendency to swell in the ratio of territory. But whether the increase continue or not, experience has shown, against all expectation, that this large influx of foreigners has not deteriorated the national morals, or endangered the national liberties. The danger of our country's tending towards rank and monarchy, from the influx of persons brought up under such forms of government, seemed to be the most pressing; but the very reverse has been the tendency, and we have

run and are every day running more and more into extremes of *democracy*. The foreign element may increase this tendency, but its proportion being annually less and less to the native born, and its diffusion being very general over large sections, its effects must be neutralized. The States which have been most increased by such population, have shown nothing less of the pride of Republicanism, the principles of progress, and the desire for mental development, than those that have derived no such increase. It is only in the large cities that the foreign element has ever been unfavorably felt; and this is rather owing to the fact that the worst portions of such population will stop there naturally, and because in great cities vice and crime are more natural even with the natives. In many of our large Northern cities, there is a species of native population, known by various billingsgate designations, who, in readiness for lawless excess, are certainly nothing in advance of the worst class of foreigners. A people who have derived so much from foreign increase, should be the last to complain of its operations. With one-third of our standing army of foreign birth, and with so large a foreign portion of the physical working power, which has been extending our wonderful system of public improvement, and so fast filling up the wilderness, it little becomes us to express distrust. The foreigner soon assimilates to the soil, and he, and his children after him, are the ready defenders of the flag of the country. If they are for a time more exposed than any other population to the wiles of the demagogue, we should be willing to adopt any safe and practicable checks, compatible with their rights to citizenship, within a period which shall neither be so short as to be inconsistent with a knowledge of our institutions, nor so long as to involve a condition at war with the theory of our system of a large free population, without the right of representation, and forming no part of the government.

The density of population in the United States does not exceed seven persons to the square mile, whilst in Great Britain there are 234 to the square mile, and in Belgium 385. Whilst the densest of our States, Massachusetts, contains 137 to the square mile, the least dense, Minnesota and Oregon, have only one inhabitant to every 30 or 40 square miles.

With the same density as Massachusetts, the United States would embrace 420 millions; with the density of Belgium, our territory is vast enough to include all of the present inhabitants of the earth.

It is not in the power of man to conceive of a case more typical of the wonderful advances of our country, than the growth of some of its great cities—for example, Cincinnati. About the time when the Federal Constitution was adopted, Mathias Denman, of New-Jersey, bought for \$550, 800 acres of the land

on which the whole of all the great business streets of Cincinnati are now located. In 1800, but 750 persons had made their residences here. In 1840, there were 46,000; in 1850, 115,000—a three-fold increase in 10 years. At the present moment the number cannot be less than 150,000, which will make Cincinnati the fourth or fifth city in the Union. Thus can men, in its midst, in the very activity and meridian of life, in sweeping the eye over its densely compact streets, its marts of commerce, its richly laden warehouses, its palaces of wealth, its splendid cathedrals of religion, its school-houses and its colleges, its quays, with their fleets of steamers, its railroads and telegraphs, approaching from every point of the compass, remember and recount scenes of the Indian wigwam and the Indian war-whoop, and when in all of its splendid and almost enchanted prospect was heard but the woodman's axe.

The State in which it is situated is another miracle of the present century. Admitted into the Union in 1802, with a population of 45,000, or two-thirds the population of Delaware, she already vies with Pennsylvania, and does not fall far short of the population of all of the New-England States together. She has 920 miles of canals, built at a cost of \$17,000,000, and 1,418 miles of railroads, a greater extent than any other State in the Union, except New-York. Her roads in progress (1853) were 1,736 miles, making a total programme of 3,154 miles. The magic lamp of Aladin, in Eastern story, scarcely developed more rapid creations of wealth and power. The quick and infinite changes of the kaleidoscope are the only parallel for these.

The great interior valley, too, of which it is a part—the central basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries—what enchantment at every step! The smoking cabin, the stealthy savage, the stalwart pioneer, the victim at the stake, the tomahawk and the scalp—the hunter's horn, the log house and the picket—the interminable forests—the arrow trail! The nineteenth century opened thus upon the mighty West! It is so no more—the mansion rises, the plough speeds, the locomotive whizzes by, the paddle-wheels of the steamer dash into spray the sluggish waters of every tortuous stream—fields laden with produce, wealth heaped up on every quay, the fashions of Paris, the elegance, the civilization, the intellectual culture of European Courts! The spirit of the Anglo-Saxon has brooded over this waste, and chaos has broken up into life and light, and a thousand forms of attractiveness and beauty. *Westward* has been the tide of empire. It has been leaving even Ohio behind, and in its rapid footsteps making of it a very far down-east State. No longer may it be sung of her as of yore,

" Together let us rise,  
Seek brighter plains, and more indulgent skies,  
Where fair *Ohio* rolls her amber tide,  
And nature blossoms in her virgin pride."

The centre of representative population of the Union is now west of the mouth of the Ohio. Standing at this point, four great arms of an inland ocean are opened to either point of the compass. To the east the Ohio ascends 1,000, penetrating in its tributaries the interior of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—to the west the Missouri sweeps 3,000 miles towards the waters of the Western Ocean—to the north and the south old Mississippi, father of all rivers, conveys his waters to the ocean. It has been working its way onward, that old river, further than our fancy may trace it—through all climes, and lands, and peoples—from where its remote source, a sleeping lake, deep set in impenetrable shades, on mountain heights, beyond all haunts of civilized life, mirrors savage and unchased beast, it has worked itself on, father of all waters, among mountains

" Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound  
Save his own dashing,"

through glades, over crags and precipices, now gaining breadth, now tapering and constrained again, then rushing impetuously forward—here showing limpidly a pebbled bottom, there deepened and frowned upon by heights rising upon heights, rugged and snow-capped—onward gaining in strength and in vigor, as kindred waters meet and blend and sweep on together, leaving the savage the intractable forests, and its inmates to be cheered by sounds of busy nations of toiling men as old Ocean nears at last. Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New-Orleans, fair sisters, creation of the waters of the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, as the *Venus* of mythology, was the creation of the waters of the great deep.

The area of the great Western Valley has been calculated as follows:—

Ohio Valley.....	200,000 square miles.
Mississippi proper.....	180,000 "
Missouri.....	500,000 "
Lower Mississippi.....	330,000 "
Total.....	1,210,000 "

Its outline is 6,100 miles, and this portion of the Union included, embraces Western New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri; Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio; Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, whose total population may be estimated at 10 or 12,000,000. From 1800 to 1810, the population of the



valley doubled. In half a century its population has increased twenty-fold, an average duplication every 12 years. The average density to the square mile is now but 10 or 12. If as densely populous as Britain, there is space enough in our interior empire for 300,000,000 of people.

Mr. Calhoun, in his great report on the Memphis Convention, (1846,) kindled with the magnificent theme which was presented before him—a population pressing upon the limits of the Rocky Mountains, a tonnage augmented thirty-fold in thirty years, a trade already equalling the whole foreign exports and imports of the United States together—three hundred millions of dollars—and this but in the beginning.

“Looking beyond to a not very distant future, when this immense valley, containing within its limits one million two hundred thousand square miles, lying in its whole extent in the temperate zone, and occupying a position midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, unequalled in fertility and the diversity of its productions, intersected in every direction by the mighty stream, including its tributaries, by which it is drained, and which supply a continuous navigation of upwards of ten thousand miles, with a coast, including both banks, of twice that length, shall be crowded with population, and its resources fully developed; imagination itself is taxed in the attempt to realize the magnitude of its commerce.”

After these tedious details, let us rise to some calculation which must become of exciting interest. What may we reasonably calculate as the increase of the population of the United States in the next hundred years? If its increase be as great as in the last 60 years, we shall have 497 millions; if as great as between 1840 and 1850, deducting foreigners that have come in and formed a part of the population, it would be 252 millions; if it were no greater than the increase of Delaware, which has increased the least of all of the States, it would be 48 millions. At a mean of this ratio and that of the Union in 60 years, we shall have in 1950, 114 millions. This calculation will no doubt be nearer the truth than any other.

A probable distribution of the population of the United States in 1950 would be, the Atlantic States 20,000,000, the Mississippi Valley 65,000,000, the Pacific coast 15,000,000.

But these are idle dreamings. Those who have prophesied before have proved such indifferent prophets, that we cannot but be considered on dangerous ground. Who shall dare to compute what waves from the ocean of eternity shall come rolling in—year, and year, and year again, in a whole century which is before us? What wars, what pestilences, what famine, what social or political convulsions, what breaking up and building up of dynasties, what territories gained, what territories lost!

Will the liberties of our people subsist, then, and their vital energies be preserved? In a hundred years nations have risen to glory, or have perished and been lost. In a hundred years the whole face of the earth has been changed. Sweeping over this great continent and over the neighboring isles from the Northern Ocean to the Southern Seas, under the flag of the great Republic, will these hundred millions of human beings assert their liberties as we are doing to-day, or, corrupted and broken up into factions, will they present to the world a second Rome in ruins, whose decline and fall it will be the melancholy part of another Gibbon to indite? God protect and watch over us as a people, keep for us our liberties and our national honor, aid and sustain us in our amazing progress, and let a hundred years to come produce the great results indicated for them by the past, and such as were the object of the prayers of the wise and good fathers of the Republic.

Let us pass in rapid review some of the evidences of the industrial progress of the United States which are displayed in its commerce, agriculture and manufactures.

In the five years which preceded the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the exports and imports of the country did not exceed together 55 million dollars annually, being about one-sixth as much as the commerce of Great Britain, and one-third as much as that of France. In the last year the same commerce has reached \$500,000,000—a tenfold increase, being considerably more than that of France, and three-fifths of that of Great Britain. Eight or ten years ago the commerce of Great Britain was not larger than ours at the present time, and her trade with all the world near the close of the last century did not exceed her present trade with us.

What shall be the future of our commercial empire, is more than the mind of man can now conceive. It has been gaining annually 7 or 8 per cent. on that of Great Britain, and even at this ratio, in 12 or 15 years, the two countries will share equally of the empire of the seas. But there is every reason to expect a larger ratio of increase when the great fields of the West are entirely opened and developed, when the South shall be stimulated to her utmost powers of production, when the shores of the Pacific shall be as populous as those of the Atlantic, and the commercial empire of the Indies be opened to us by a great overland railroad, and fleets of steamships—when all of our mineral and manufacturing resources shall be brought into full development—then shall open to us a commerce which the world has never paralleled in any single nation, and which will be as considerable as that of all the combined powers of the world. Great and benignant are the results of commerce upon the families of men. Let us take the extremest limits of the ocean, the stormiest islet of the deep, struggling against a

thousand billows, and what do we find? The sailor and the trader have been there, and the return of the white wings is hailed by anxious multitudes, who bring out their richest treasures to be bartered for the veriest trifles of civilization. From the intercourse which arises, new wants are stimulated in their bosoms. They begin to think with the new objects which occasion thought; their views and ideas are naturally expanded to a wider compass, and they are insensibly moulded in the type of those who have excited their highest admiration and wonder. Mysterious, beneficent and wise, are the ways of Providence, when even the interests of men are called into requisition to work out the great problem of their existence.

The tonnage of the United States is 4,500,000 tons, as large as that of Great Britain five or six years ago, if, indeed, upon a close calculation, the two countries do not already vie with each other. At all events, the ratio of increase of our tonnage is twice as great as that of Britain. Nearly 2,000,000 tons have been built by us in the last five years, which is four times as much as in the five years preceding 1820. The North controls this tonnage, and it is calculated by Mr. Kettell, realizes fifty millions a year out of the carrying trade which she is permitted to conduct for the South. The steam marine of the Union is 600,000 tons, being four times as great as in 1840.

The home or inter-State trade of the country, under the influence of perfect freedom, and without the restraint of the revenue laws, may be estimated at \$1,000,000,000. The commerce which floats on Western waters is estimated at \$400,000,000; and the commerce of the Great Lakes at \$300,000,000.

During the war of Napoleon, the carrying trade of the world was in our hands, and produced an amount of prosperity in the country which was unexampled. In the event of another general war in Europe, were it possible for us to be kept out of the fray, an extension of our commerce would result, which even figures might refuse to express.

The manufacturing progress of the United States is scarcely less marvellous than the commercial. We have invested in them 6 or \$700,000,000, and our manufacturing product reaches \$1,000,000,000. In 1807, we manufactured but 800 bales of cotton; in 1834, 216,000 bales; in 1852, over 600,000 bales, greatly more than is manufactured by France, and one-third as much as Great Britain, though 20 years ago we only manufactured one-fifth as much as she did. The South and the West in the same period have doubled the proportion which their cotton manufacture bears to that of the Union. Cotton goods constitute one-half of the whole exports of Great Britain, and seven-eighths of the whole amount consumed in Europe and

America is the product of Southern slave labor. In the manufacture of cotton, it is computed that more than seven millions of people are immediately interested, and that \$1,200,000,000 capital is invested.

I shall be brief on the subject of agriculture. In 1840, it was estimated to produce for us \$600,000,000. In 1850, by a close calculation on a deficient crop, the amount swells to \$1,000,000,000, and at this moment may be taken to be \$1,200,000,000. The produce \$150,000,000 in cotton, against 2 or \$300,000 at the beginning of the century. Our sugar crop is already 14 or \$15,000,000. There was a third more of wheat, and double as much corn, produced in 1850 than in 1840.

We have 113,000,000 acres of land in cultivation, and 300,000,000 in occupancy, or about one-sixth part of the area of the Republic. These are carved out into about 1,448,000 farms, or distinct agricultural interests, with \$3,500,000,000 invested in farms, implements, &c.—an average extent to each farm of 282 acres. What other country in the world can show results like these? If four-fifths of the slaves of the South be added, the amount of capital invested in the agricultural interests of America will be \$5,000,000,000.

The physical well-being of a people has much to do with their social advancement. In the United States, fourteen-fifteenths of the free families have houses to themselves, whilst in Great Britain only six-sevenths are so favored, or about half the proportion. Comparing the different sections of the Union, it would appear that the territories have most houses in proportion to population; the South comes next; the Southwest next; then New-England, and last the North. The number of persons to a family is smallest in the territories, next in New-England, and largest in the North.

When we come to the education of the people, we find that 2,150,000 boys, and nearly 1,900,000 girls, are at schools and colleges, being about one-fifth of the population. The proportion in England and Wales is 1 in 8; Spain, 1 in 17; Russia, 1 in 77. The number of white persons over 20 years of age in the United States who cannot read and write is 1,053,000, about one-twelfth of the persons of that age. In England and Wales, in three years, half the persons who registered their marriages were incapable of reading and writing.

In comparing different sections of the Union with regard to education, we find that whilst in New-England only 1 adult in about 375 cannot read and write, in the Middle States 2 in 100 cannot; Southern States 9 in 100 cannot; Southwestern, 8; Northern, 5; Northwestern, 17, growing out of the great proportion of foreign-born,—14 out of every hundred there being incapable of reading and writing, which is the same proportion of



the foreign-born in New-England. In the whole Union, 1 in 25 cannot read and write of the native-born, and 1 in 12 of the foreign-born.

These are gratifying results, and they should incite us to still further efforts in the cause of education. Shall a great and wealthy country pause to consider the difficulties or enumerate the cost of distributing light and instruction throughout all its extent, and of bringing home to each embryo citizen,—even the veriest offspring of beggary and want,—the means of becoming a nobleman in the only sense in which our institutions admit of nobility, and in which the might of intellect can make us all noble? I know of no patriot service more exalted than of that man who will come forward in our legislative halls to produce and carry out, from an enlightened appreciation of the subject in all its bearings, such educational movements as the exigencies of the country demand.

Let us diffuse knowledge throughout the length and breadth of this great country; multiply the means of information,—send the schoolmaster into every hovel,—dot every hill with the school-house and college,—let the Press, without intermission, night and day, pour forth its steady streams of light,—foster Science and the Arts,—let the civilizing and godlike influences of machinery uninterruptedly extend. Then will the future of our country open, boundless and great, beyond all example, beyond all compare, and countless ages bless its mission and acknowledge its glorious dominion.

It was our intention to have said something about pauperism and its attendant ills in our country, as compared with others, but this is unnecessary: the number is not one-thirtieth as great as in Great Britain; this is an evil, however, which advances with an advancing country. The social and agrarian doctrines of France cannot take root among us for a very long period, unless we encourage class legislation, and incite the poor to think there is something of robbery in the idea of property; the sound patriot will resist the teachings of the demagogue which lead to this. He will know the true nature of property and of its laws. He will know that it is natural,—and, if natural, proper, though we may not see the reason,—that property, and want, and disease, and misery, should be the next door neighbor of wealth and unbounded prosperity. The towers of the palace cast their shadows down upon the roofless hovel, as naturally as the mountains do upon the neighboring hills. Yet that nobleman has not oppressed that beggar. He may, indeed, be liberal, and generous, and just, and mourn over the misery all the wealth in the world could not relieve. Nor is the beggar a victim of society and its laws; without that society, or those laws, he had not existed—he could not exist with the same security, his fathers before him had not

prospered, (for generations of misery in the same household is scarcely a supposable case,) and his children would have no hope. Exclaim against Nature, that she has sent you in the world half finished, maimed, diseased, imbecile, an idiot—that you were born under the frozen serpent of the North, and must struggle against tumbling icebergs, or in the death-dealing breath of torrid suns—but limit not your complaints to these. In evincing her partiality in these respects, has she proclaimed an impartiality in every other? Is it not equally an outrage upon your rights, your equality, that your neighbor is taller, or stouter, better favored, more intellectual—or that he has broader acres, greater possessions, and more comforts? All the governments in the world could not prevent these distinctions. The worst government only would attempt it—for in the effort, how much injustice and wrong must be done to those who, to say the least of it, have as much right to their possessions, however earned, as you have to take them away! The remedy is within ourselves. It is for us to apply it. Be industrious, be frugal, be circumspect; if these remove not the evil, we have a claim upon the *benevolence*, not upon the *justice*, of our fellows. Sue, but not demand. If this benevolence fail, we are simply another victim of that inexplicable, yet, as we ought to believe, wise Providence, which strikes down without reason or explanation, and teaches the utter nothingness of man by her frequent indifference to his fate.

In 1828 we began the construction of railroads: in 1830 we had 41 miles; in 1840, 2,167 miles; in 1854, 15,648 miles; being twice the extent of those in Great Britain, and considerably more than in all the rest of the world together. Whilst the average cost in our country has been about \$30,000 a mile, the cost in Europe has averaged about \$100,000. We have put in operation in the last year about 3,000 miles, and have in course of construction a programme of 12,612 miles.

The mineral resources of the United States include almost every article of great commercial value. The coal and iron resources of some of our Western States are as large as those of the whole of Britain; we have lead and copper in profusion, and the gold resources of California are almost equal to those of the fabulous reports of Ormuz and the Ind. Labor cheapens, and population centralizes, and becomes dense. The mineral resources of the Union will be developed, and it need give us little concern that they remain undeveloped now, since our capital and labor are so abundantly and profitably employed in a thousand other channels. The patrimony we shall leave to our children. The results of the gold mines of California alone, in market value, equal almost the value of the whole cotton crop of the Southern States of the Union.

But, to conclude—in sketching thus rapidly the history of our country, how striking is the contrast of its early colonial periods with the present hour! It was in the sixteenth century that the leading European powers were introduced to a minute acquaintance with the continent of America. Adventurous navigation had rescued a world from savage dominion, and there were adventurous spirits enough to people that world, and identify thenceforward their destinies with it. A hundred years after, and civilization planted her abodes through all this waste. Peculiar indeed is the feeling with which these infant days of our country is regarded; so like an illusion does it all seem—so like a dream of glowing imagery. We look back as to a classic era, and the romance of Pocahontas and of Raleigh, of Fernando de Soto, and Juan Ponce de Leon, do they thrill us less than the beatific visions of the Greek, recurring to ages long ago, when Iliad resisted the shocks of Agamemnon's heroes, and the Argo sailed away to distant Colchis? The dim antiquity seems gathered around both of them alike. But let it pass, all—the romance of our history! They imagined not, the men of that day imagined not, the stupendous results which have occurred so soon. They saw not the benign and regenerating influences of a virgin land, preserved for countless ages uncorrupted by tyranny and ignorant of oppression. Could such a soil have nurtured else than freemen? They saw it not, and do we, even we, see other than darkly yet, the great consummation, the mighty destinies of the regions which three centuries ago were proclaimed from the mast-head of a crazy ocean bark, a speck upon the distant heaven?

The developments of American character are replete with instruction, and solve one of the most remarkable problems in the history of mankind. The untried scenes of a new world, cut off by trackless oceans from contact and communion with the civilization of unnumbered generations, were sufficient to introduce, what might have been predicted of them, results new, striking, and without a precedent. The indomitable will, the stern endurance, the inflexible and hardy spirit of independence, the high daring, the lofty patriotism, the adventurous, unlimited enterprise, the genius resolute, active, intrepid, inexhaustible in resources, elastic in vigor and in freshness, buoyant ever and hoping on, and executing, amid every trying scene, every danger, and difficulty, and disaster—triumphing everywhere and in all things. Philosophy could have argued this complexion for the men whose fathers braved so much beyond the ocean, and would philosophy have won less than the fame of prophecy by her judgment?

Let us trace a few of the influences which have been at work

in our country, and which more than all others have been felt in the development of its character and power.

1. With the benefit of the experience of other great powers, the United States have inherited none of the abuses which in them have been consecrated by time, and which cannot be touched by the hand of the reformer without endangering the whole frame-work of society. It is thus that the patriotism of Europe is conservative, whilst that of America may boldly approximate to radicalism. We may touch the springs of society, and rearrange its delicate machinery, without the apprehension which is felt in other governments of throwing the whole into inextricable disorder.

2. Freedom of religious faith and worship has been guaranteed in every period of our history. The divorce of Church and State is the indispensable condition of the prosperity of either. Leagued with the Church, the State has ever been able to derive such sanctions for its abuses as are the most imposing upon the minds of men and the most fatal to their liberties. Degraded and corrupted by such contact, the Church, in its despotism over the consciences of men, has crushed out all true religion. Better all the "isms" which our free system has brought; all the scandal of fanatic excess; far better than the tythe system, the trading in Church benefits and presentations, the Courts ecclesiastical, the thunders of excommunication, the princely estates of the clergy—robbing honest industry of its hard-earned gains, and converting into an engine of stupendous plunder the meek and lowly religion of Christ. The religion of America is the spontaneous offering of the heart, and in elevating and enlarging it, has imparted to us no little of our power. Free to choose our form of worship, and to contribute as it may please us to its support, our people are already ministered to by 27,000 clergymen, have constructed 38,000 churches at an expense of \$87,000,000, and have church-room to accommodate at one sitting 14,000,000 of people.

3. There are no privileged classes in America—no rank, except that of honor—no nobility, except that of the intellect and the heart—no title of distinction higher than that of the gentleman, which, in its fulness of meaning in our country, involves all, and often more than all, that is claimed abroad for proudest earl or marquis, duke or prince of the realm. The way to greatness is opened alike with us to the son of the mechanic and the millionaire. What a premium is here offered to the virtues—what a field for promotion to energy and talent! A splendid ancestry may, indeed, sometimes illumine the way to greatness, and furnish models for the descendant. It is more often the justification of indolence and the palliation of vice. The merit



of dead men, when claimed for the living, is like stars, we are told, seen on the water, which would not be there but for their bright originals in heaven. Wealthy classes we must have and shall have—men estranged from the cares and necessities of daily business—men to be the patrons of art and of letters, and to cultivate them in elegant repose, retired scholars and gentlemen. Such are necessary to correct the strong material tendencies of our people—to teach them that there is a progress of the moral and the intellectual, as well as of the physical—that authors and artists, and poets and books, are as necessary as railroads and telegraphs—that letters are as important as land. We want these, and they are fast presenting themselves. In the forest, in contests with nature and the savage, America has been too busy in acting out her great national epic to have had time to write it. Let Europe sneer at our want of a literature. We have begun at the base, and not at the apex. We are teaching the people to read books, which is more than she has ever done. The mines of thought which are being sprung throughout our reading masses will, as soon as the pressure of the physical is entirely removed, give to us Augustan and Elizabethan ages which shall not be memorable by their exception.

4. In the United States, local legislation has been left where it ought to be, in the hands of local legislators, which is the greatest safeguard that could be devised against excessive and unequal legislation, the bane of all other countries. The nearer the government can be brought home to the people, the more intimate will be the part they will take in it; the greater the responsibility exacted, the wiser and more intelligent the rules of action adopted. Local legislators can better understand the interests and wants of their constituency, than could a central Congress legislating in detail for great communities. Under a system like ours, there is no room for the tyranny of sections—but each is entirely adequate to its own security and protection. Thus is power distributed and not concentrated. Thus may it be subjected to wise restraints, and preserved most effectually for good, and least effective for evil. We find here what may be called the compromises of the American System. Let us adhere to them. The encroachment made to-day upon the reserved rights of the weakest and most remote of our co-sovereigns, will to-morrow have a yoke for our own necks. If this great system is to be preserved, there must be respect paid to the rights of all of its parts. The North, as well as the South—the East as well as the West, must share equally of the benefits or the burdens. Only ruin can follow the infraction of the rights and privileges of any section. Melancholy experience has taught us this, and may we profit by that experience.

5. The people of the United States have been content to

take care of their own affairs, without intermeddling with those of others. The exceptions have been few, and ought not to be called in precedent. The Father of the Republic counselled this course as suited to our exigencies, and enabling us the better to be employed in the development of our own nationality. Moral influence we may give to the struggles of brother Republicans abroad—wise counsels, sound examples, without setting ourselves up as the propagandists of political principles, or entering upon a Don Quixote crusade against oppression and wrong throughout the world. Let Europe, for the present, fight out her own battles. Her old and decayed system must crumble down—her people must be born again, before they can be fitted for the full blaze of the light of liberty, which dazzles not our eyes. Time alone can bring about this. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." The liberties of the millions now and hereafter inhabiting our country, will be task enough for one nation adequately to maintain and guard. "The Greeks are at our doors." If the wise rule of our ancestors is ever to be departed from—and it is not claimed as applicable rigidly to every period of our national being—the case must be one of far greater merit than Europe has presented in the last half century. Now that the Old World is likely to be convulsed again—that the fires which have been lit by Cossack and Turk by the shores of the Bosphorus, threaten general conflagration—that Poland, and Italy, and Hungary, may be found again asserting in arms their liberties and nationalities—that English bayonet and French artillery shall awaken all the dire elements of war, which have slumbered so long, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—hard indeed will it be for us to resist the pressure from our sympathies and retain our *wise neutrality*. Much will there be to gall our pride; much to tax our endurance and outrage the noblest sentiments of the heart—yet once let us yield and become involved in these great struggles, and when and where shall we be disentangled from them? The drama of our future will be one of violence and blood. Neither manhood nor religion require from us greater love for others than for ourselves. We are doing more for Republicans throughout the world, by furnishing it a home and proving in it the practicability of Republican institutions, when wisely framed and administered, than could be afforded by all the material aid and intervention which fleets and armies could carry. The gallantry of Ingraham, sustained by the President and by Congress, has sufficiently aroused Europe to the fact that Republican America well knows how and when to extend the protection of its flag and the power of its nationality.

6. Freedom of speech and of the press are the inalienable birthright of the American citizen. With such levers, what abuse cannot be probed—what outrage redressed? We dare to

speak our thoughts and to print them. This magic power of the press is at work throughout the land. Two thousand five hundred newspapers are discussing and elaborating measures of policy, and criticising the actions of public men. It is a power that is hundred-eyed, and hundred-armed, and sleeps not—watchful sentinels of the liberties of the people. There is something almost divine in its action. Licentious at times though it be, prostituted to base uses, better this than the gag law and the censor, and the other restraints which despotism throws around it in Europe. The freedom of the press is the ægis of our liberty.

7. Finally, we have preserved the family relation, in all of its sacredness, in America. No elder sons usurp rights and powers, no daughters are disfranchised. The fame and the inheritance of the father descend alike to all of his offspring. Here only is the true position of woman in society, recognized and guarded—not her right to be unsexed, to brawl in political assemblies—to be elbowed up to the ballot-box, to make Amazonian displays in the forum. Oh, no—nothing of this. It is the delicate softness of the sex which makes the influence of woman omnipotent—give to her the sinews and the muscle, and the capacities for stern resolve of the other sex, and she becomes his slave. Beautiful by the hearth—beautiful at the domestic board—beautiful in her ministering of charity—beautiful in her guiding counsels to infancy, in her tender, pious solitudes for manhood—as the sister, the wife, or mother—the women of America have been performing their high and holy mission; and execrations upon the heads of those who would substitute for her—so soft, so lovely, so cherished and adored in the innermost heart of man—that modern Amazonian creation, which is born of the monstrous conception of a “Woman’s Rights Convention.” The idolatry which is offered to woman in our country has been nerving us for great deeds. “Only the brave deserve the fair.” Crime flies from the rebuke of her presence. She is a soft, steady, exhaustless lamp—guiding the virtuous to safety and to God.

---

#### Art. II.—THE HISTORY OF STATISTICS.

THERE have been in ancient and recent times, various ways for collecting general statistics. Those have proved themselves the most reliable, which have been carried out for religious interests by churches, etc., and those ordered by governments for civil and political exigencies.

*First*—The first method may be traced back to the very simple service of Polytheism, although reliable and fixed state-

ments may be only looked for in the Christian Church. The ancient Romans were at the earliest times of the Republic—and according to Dyonisius of Halicarnassus, even under the king, Servius Tullius—already by law compelled to announce, under penalties, the births at the Temple of Juno Lucina, the deaths, at that of the goddess Libitina, and all young men, having attained to puberty, had to appear at the temple of Juventus. In the Christian Church, children were baptized by priests, for a certain fee, in the fourth century, which fact we learn from the decrees enacted by the Spanish Concilium, in the year 304, which prohibits the exaction of the said fee. In the sixth century, this fee had become a fixed tax, often mercilessly demanded, to which soon a similar one was added for solemnizing marriages, which latter, however, became not legally necessary before the second half of the eighth century. Funerals were almost among all nations attended with religious ceremonies, under the management of the priesthood. Immediately after the introduction of the Christian religion into the Roman Empire, by Constantine, it became usual to bury the dead in sacred places for a fixed fee, from which, however, the poor were exempted. That this must have been done in a certain degree, is beyond doubt, as very often rich persons were the benefactors of the Church. Therefore they kept registers of deaths, which, although very incomplete, could easily be perfected.

In the sixteenth century, we first meet with formal orders to keep complete church-books, addressed to all ministers. The oldest ecclesiastical order known is that of the Synod of Seez, in 1524, after which followed the secular ones of the English king, Henry VIII., of 1537, and of the French, Francis I., 1539. In Germany, it appears that it was already long before that time, in cities, customary to keep official lists. Thus we find them in Augsburg, since the year 1501; in Breslau, for the Protestant Church, since 1555.

*Secondly*—The census by order of the governments have always taken place for the State's exigencies, either very irregularly, or for discharging duties towards the State, and then generally repeated in regular periods. In antiquity, at Athens, a census was taken not very often. It usually embraced only the number of actual citizens, when there happened to be an occasion for distributing corn or great amounts of money confiscated by the government. However, we find also a general list of the whole grown male part of the population, citizens, aliens and slaves, in the times of the Archon Demetrius Phalereus. The same took place in other Greek States, although we possess only very insufficient and scarce materials. Another mode of ascertaining the number of the population was the census of the citizens of Rome, but which also comprised only the male adults, as all those



which could bear arms, to which, however, after the greater extension of the Roman Empire, the *allieus* (*socii*) were added. Whether this census was taken regularly every five years, or if there were sometimes intermissions, is not exactly to be asserted.

In the middle age we do not meet with any statistics of population at all, and the data in our possession are founded only on estimates and the public registers of landed property, as the Doomsday-book of William the Conqueror, and those of the Courtly March of Brandenburg of the time of the Emperor Charles IV., or the books on fiefs of the Teutonic Knights, on the southeastern shores of the Baltic. In recent times, standing armies increased financial exigencies, etc., have urged the necessity of more exact statistical statements, so as to be enabled to survey at a certain period the strength of the nation in so far as it is defensible or taxable. The commencement of such was in the middle of the 17th century, as the age of Louis XIV., by the great demands it made upon the defensive and financial strength of the nations, made the census a lasting necessity. Since that time censuses have been taken in all Christian States, and are extended over the whole territory, everywhere except in Russia. In France, the first census was taken under Louis XIV., in England in 1701. It is repeated in both of these countries now at regular periods. In Prussia, the first general census took place under the reign of the elector Frederic William, 1683, and it is now repeated every third year. The same is the case in the kingdom of Holland. The larger States of the German Confederation, every third or fifth year, have an exact list of the population made out. In Denmark, the first census was executed in 1769, and it has been repeated since that time, 1787, 1801, 1834 and 1849. In Sweden, a general census took place at first in 1748, and has been repeated in the last century every 25 years, (1773, 1798,) and in the present, 1810 and 1825. In Spain Charles III., 1787, ordered the first exact census, which has been renewed in 1820 and 1833. In the United States the census is taken every ten years, and in most of the States it is taken independently every 5 or 10 years.

#### Art. III.—GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCED BY THE MINES OF AMERICA FROM 1492.

WITH the exception of statements made by some of the early adventurers of the amounts of gold obtained of the aborigines in particular instances, there is little else than conjecture as to the amount of the precious metals gathered by the early discoverers of America. Humboldt, whose opinion is perhaps entitled to more confidence than that of any other writer, has esti-

mated the average annual amount of gold which America furnished to Europe, from 1492 to 1500, at £52,000 sterling.

According to the accounts of Herrera and others respecting the operations of the early adventurers, the estimate of Humboldt would seem correct for the whole period from 1492 to 1519, when Cortez first landed in Mexico. Up to this period gold only had been found. Twenty years after the conquest of Mexico, that of Peru was made by Pizarro. The process by which the Peruvians had procured their gold and silver before the arrival of the Europeans, was simple, rude, and with little regard to extracting the whole of the precious metals from the ores. The use of mercury was not adopted till forty years after the conquest. The smelting was performed in small, portable furnaces, or cylindrical tubes of clay, very broad, and pierced with a great number of holes. In these the Indians placed layers of silver ore, galena and charcoal, and the current of air which entered the holes quickened the fire, and gave it a great degree of intensity. These furnaces were moved from one elevation to another, according to the degree of high or low wind. When it was found that the wind blew too strong, and consumed too much of the fuel, they were removed to a lower situation. By these means the natives obtained argentiferous masses, which were smelted again in their own cottages. This was performed by a number of persons, ten or twelve at a time, blowing a fire through copper tubes, from one to two yards in length, pierced with a small hole at the extremity towards the fire, which thus acted in the same manner as the modern blow-pipe.

The mines of Potosi were discovered in 1545. Several mines had been previously worked, but there is no account of the gold and silver which they yielded. The estimate of Humboldt up to this time, which is adopted by all the leading writers, is as follows:—

The annual addition in twenty-nine years, between the discovery in 1492 and the conquest of Mexico in 1521, at £52,000, would amount to .....	£1,308,000
The amount for twenty-five years, from the conquest of Mexico to the discovery of Potosi, at the annual rate of £630,000.....	15,750,000
<b>Total addition in 63 years .....</b>	<b>£17,058,000</b>

Writers have estimated that the quantity of gold and silver in the old world had been reduced to thirty-three or four millions, and that the supply of the European mines at the discovery of America was equal to that which was annually consumed by wear.

The discovery of the mines of Potosi was accidental. It was made by an Indian hunter, Diego Hualca, who, in pulling up a shrub, observed filaments of pure silver about the roots. The mass, on examination, was found to be enormous, and a large part of the population was attracted to the spot. A city soon

sprung up. The mountain was perforated on all sides, and the produce, in a few of the first years, exceeded whatever had been recorded of the richest mines of the world.

During the first ten years after the discovery, no account was kept of the quantity of treasure obtained, but during the succeeding twenty-three years, from 1556 to 1578, a tax of a maravedi upon each marc of silver was laid. The account of this tax gives as its amount nine millions eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and fifty-seven peros, and the treasure therefore must have amounted to \$49,011,285, or \$2,130,925 annually. Humboldt and other writers have concluded that the yield of the mines did not exceed during the first ten years that of subsequent and equal periods. This opinion is based upon the improved processes of amalgamation introduced after the end of the ten years. During the next twenty-one years, from 1579 to 1600, the amount of treasure according to the tax was \$29,185,990, or \$1,389,859 annually.

During this period Chili yielded some gold, but the principal supply of treasure came from Mexico. Humboldt is chiefly followed by all writers in the estimate of the annual supply during all this period, which is reckoned at \$10,000,000. This, in the period of fifty-four years, terminating at 1600, would amount to \$540,000,000.

It would be an interesting subject to investigate the influence which this accumulation of treasure had upon the social condition of the inhabitants of Europe. The advance in prices, the rise in wages, the increase of luxury, and the more general diffusion of comforts, are distinctly marked in the pages of history.

The sum which formed the stock of money current in Europe at the latter end of the fifteenth century, is thus estimated by one of the most laborious English writers who has investigated the subject :—

1st. The stock existing at the time of the discovery of America. ....	£34,000,000
2d. That produced in the hundred and twelve subsequent years, after making allowance for the loss by wear and tear .....	138,000,000
	172,000,000
Deducting what had been conveyed to Asia, and what is supposed to have been applied to the purpose of commodities of all kinds. ....	42,000,000
	£130,000,000

This is equivalent to quadrupling the quantity of coin in Europe in the first century after the discovery of America. A conclusion which will admit of great difference of opinion.

After the year 1600 the mines in the district of Potosi in Peru declined greatly. In the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century they yielded \$1,670,344; and in the last fifteen years, from 1685 to 1699, both years inclusive, the average amounts to no more than \$559,943. This decline is not ascribed to the

exhaustion of the mines, but to the cruel conduct of the Spaniards.

During the same period, the district now known as Bolivia was productive of metals. Mines were opened and worked in Carangas, Oruro, Andacava, and Chaquiapu, or La Paz. At the same time the silver mines in the northern part of Peru at Guericocha, or Pasco, were opened, and yielded a large amount of that metal. Thus, although the district of Potosi declined, the other parts of Peru advanced so considerably as more than to compensate for the deficiency. This increase of silver was greatly promoted by the extension of the mines of mercury at Huancavelica. The quantity at first obtained from them was small, compared with that which they reached between the years 1598 and 1684, after which they appear again to have declined. The principal one of these mines became choked up about 1790, which was a great misfortune to the mining interest of South America. The superintendent of that day removed the pillars which had been left by the excavators of the galleries to support the roof. By the superincumbent pressure the roof fell in, and the passages became blocked up. "The master miners," says Humboldt, "accused the intendant of having removed the pillars to ingratiate himself with the Court of Madrid, by procuring in a very few years a great quantity of mercury. The intendant, on his part, affirmed that he had acted altogether with the consent of the master miners, who thought the pillars might be replaced by heaps of rubbish."

Meantime the increase of gold was taking place both on the north and south of Peru. In Chili the Spaniards and Indians were sedulously employed in washing for gold in those streams which descend from the Cordilleras. The climate and soil there are exceedingly favorable to gold washers. "It is usually observed," remarks a traveller who visited that country, "that in those countries where great mineral riches exist, the soil is of a barren and unproductive nature; but Chili affords a striking and almost solitary exception to this rule. Streams abounding in gold wander through the most luxuriant corn-fields, and the farmer and the miner hold converse together on their banks."

At this period some silver, but more gold, was found in New Granada, but the principal quantity of gold was obtained in the ravines of the mountainous regions of Antioquia in the valley of Cauca, between the central and western Cordilleras, and especially in the southern extremity of the province of Popayan.

About the year 1630, the mines of Guanaxuato, in Mexico, were greatly extended, and those of Tasco, Zultepec, Zacatecas, and Pachuca began to improve, and so continued to the end of the century. The ancient documents on the subject of the product of treasure are very obscure, but Humboldt has con-



cluded that the precious metals produced in Mexico so increased between 1600 and 1700, that in the last ten years of the century the mines delivered to the mints, in gold and silver, to the amount of more than five million piastres. It is estimated by Jacobs, that South America, exclusive of Brazil, yielded during the century terminating in 1700, in conjunction with the produce of Mexico, \$10,500,000. Brazil is estimated at another million, and the amount not reported at the Mexican mints, but conveyed away by contraband means, is estimated at \$2,000,000. Thus we have an annual yield from all the American mines, of \$13,600,000, for the hundred years terminating in 1700.

The following estimate of the coin in circulation at the end of 1699, throughout the world, may be new to many of our readers, and may also serve as a landmark in the progress of our subject:—

Stock of coin left at the end of 1599 .....	£130,000,000	
Deduct for abrasion and loss in the course of the century past. ....	43,000,000	
		87,000,000
Produce of the mines of the world in one hundred years .....	£337,500,000	
Transferred to India and China .....	33,250,000	
		£304,250,000
Deduct one-fifth converted to other objects than that of coin .....	60,250,000	
		£244,000,000
Deduct for wear and tear .....	34,000,000	210,000,000
		£297,000,000

The produce of mineral treasure from this period was slow, but uniform, throughout America, until nearly the close of the century. The great mine of Valenciana, says one of the writers upon this period, which during forty years yielded to its proprietors a clear profit of from eighty-five to one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling yearly, was neglected until near the year 1760, and after ten years' labor and expenditure, when the richest part of the vein had been reached, continued for upwards of forty years to yield more than half a million sterling in gold and silver. The rich district of Guanajuato, in Mexico, which in the years before 1766, yielded only three hundred and eighty thousand ounces of silver annually, produced in the latter years of its prosperity more than one million five hundred thousand. The mineral repository of Catorce was only discovered in the year 1773, but it yielded a very large quantity of gold and silver till 1798, when the value of the minerals declined. The vein of Biscaina did not become enormously productive until 1762. In twelve years from that period, the owner of it gained a profit of more than a million sterling, with part of which he presented to the King of Spain two ships of war,

one of them of one hundred and twenty guns, and also lent him upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, which was never after repaid. The mines of Zacatecas, which in 1750 scarcely furnished silver to the amount of more than one hundred thousand pounds, increased in a few years to ten times that amount.

The following is the statement of the product of the mines of Mexico in gold and in silver, delivered to be coined at the several mints in periods of ten years, reduced to sterling at the rate of four shillings and two pence the piastre, according to Humboldt and Ward.

In the ten years from 1700 to 1709.....	£10,777,298
" " 1710 to 1719.....	13,697,297
" " 1720 to 1729.....	17,131,921
" " 1730 to 1739.....	18,860,355
" " 1740 to 1749.....	23,302,633
" " 1750 to 1759.....	26,197,936
" " 1760 to 1769.....	23,505,012
" " 1770 to 1779.....	34,912,858
" " 1780 to 1789.....	40,318,948
" " 1790 to 1799.....	48,191,711
" " 1800 to 1809.....	47,142,814

£304,039,783

It is estimated by Humboldt that the gold and silver of Mexico which did not pay the duty to the king was equal to one-fifth of that which did. Taking it at that amount, there may be added .....

60,807,956

£364,847,739

This is an annual average product of ..... £3,316,706

The greatest quantity of silver from Peru has been extracted from the mines of Pasco. They are in the midst of mountains covered with perpetual snow, and are themselves at a height of thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and, consequently, in a severe climate and barren soil. They are said to contain masses of silver equal to the quantity found in the district of Guanaxuato in Mexico, and at no great depth below the surface. But the unhealthiness of the climate, the expense of conveying necessities to such an elevation, and the water by which the pits are often submerged, have been impediments to extensive operations. Nevertheless, these mines yielded, subsequently to 1700, even throughout the century, annually eight hundred thousand ounces of silver. In the province of Truxillo the Hualyayae, Gumachuco and Conchuco mines have been worked since 1772, and yielded annually eight hundred thousand ounces of silver. The ores of the district were said by Humboldt to be richer than those of Potosi.

The gold and silver obtained from the mines in Peru was ordered to be brought to Lima to be coined. No regular returns of the amount are attainable of an earlier date than 1754. The gold and silver which paid the duty on coinage from this date to

1809, was 240,408,058 piastres. Writers upon this subject, especially Jacobs, have reckoned the amount the same for the preceding fifty-nine years, and thus concluded the amount of gold and silver yielded by the mines of Peru for the one hundred and ten years previous to 1810, to have been \$480,816,116.

The western part of Columbia has yielded gold from the earliest period, but no silver of account. The gold is obtained in alluvial districts. Veins have been found in the mountains of Guamoco and Antioquia, but the working of them has been neglected. The gold obtained from the washing was coined, and paid duty at Santa Fe de Bogota. In 1801 it averaged 2,500,000 piastres, from which amount it had not varied materially for a long period.

The gold and silver obtained in Chili was coined at the capital, Santiago, where the tax was collected. It amounted to about \$850,000 annually, and for the period from 1700 to 1810, it is estimated that the gross yield of the mines and washings was \$93,500,000.

Buenos Ayres, which at one time included the mountain of Potosi, had many rich mines about this period, especially La Paz, Carangas and Oruro; the annual product of which is stated by Humboldt to have been \$4,200,000, or in one hundred and ten years \$462,000,000.

Bringing together under one view the products of the gold and silver mines of Spanish America, and regarding the amount of contraband, or which did not pay a tax, we have the following results:—

Peru .....	£100,169,524
Columbia .....	57,341,666
Chili .....	19,532,166
Buenos Ayres .....	96,250,000
Product paying duty .....	273,293,356
Product on contraband .....	68,323,339
	341,616,995
Product of Mexico as above stated .....	364,847,739
	£706,464,434

But Brazil belonged to the Portuguese, and its product of gold must be added to the amount of gold and silver obtained in Spanish America. In the appendix to the report of the Bullion Committee of the English House of Commons in June, 1810, there is an account of the product, or duty of one-fifth, from the 1st of August, 1751, to December, 1794, for the two greatest mining provinces of Brazil, those of Minas Geraes, and of Minas Novas; and also of the district of Goiazes. By this statement, it appears that there was a decrease in the amount of the quintos on gold as follows:—

		Arobas.	Mures.	Ounces.
Annual average from	1752 to 1762 .....	104	7	5
"	" 1763 to 1773 .....	90	3	1
"	" 1774 to 1784 .....	69	20	4
"	" 1785 to 1794 .....	45	41	5

Thus the tax of one-fifth the weight amounted to 3,369 arobas of gold; the value of each aroba in sterling is £1,821 17s. 4d. Consequently, the whole amount produced from the mines in fifty-one years was £30,719,335. The yield of the other mines for the same period is estimated at £9,281,665.

The only method without statistics, which do not exist, by which to arrive at the results of the preceding period of fifty-nine years, is through an investigation of the commerce of the period, with all those incidental circumstances which have a degree of influence upon it. After such an investigation, Jacobs, among other writers, has reckoned the amount produced as equal to that of the subsequent period, and the total from 1700 to 1810 at £80,000,000, thus:—

Spanish America .....	£706,464,434
Portuguese America .....	80,000,000
	<hr/>
	786,464,434
Or an annual product of .....	£7,146,767

Since the commencement of the present century, the product of the mines originally of Spanish and Portuguese America has rapidly declined. This has been in consequence of political disorders and wars, and not from any failure in the mines. Thus in Mexico, the money coined at the mint in 1809 was \$26,172,982 in gold and silver; but in 1812 it had declined to \$4,409,266. In Guanajuato, according to Mr. Ward, the amount of the precious metals diminished from 8,852,472 marcs of silver, and 27,810 marcs of gold; the product of fifteen years preceding the revolution, to 2,877,213 marcs of silver, and 8,109 marcs of gold. The mines of Sombrerete declined from five hundred thousand to three hundred thousand annually. The product of the mines of Catorce, which was second only to that of Guanajuato in the amount of silver raised, being nearly three millions of dollars annually, was so reduced as to yield, on the average for the fifteen years of the revolution, \$599,400. The Bisciana vein, which yielded \$857,042 annually, declined during the period from 1800 to 1823, to \$14,285 annually. In each district the principal mines, with a single exception, were abandoned; the machinery was allowed to go to ruin, and the silver raised was merely the gleanings of more prosperous times; the workings were confined almost entirely to the upper levels. Reports have been made of the quantity of money coined at the four mints between 1810 and 1829, including both gold and silver. This amount is \$220,403,183.



The produce of gold and silver in Central America was always included in the returns from Mexico previous to 1820. At that time a mint was established, which, up to 1829, had coined about \$2,893,710.

The entire amount of gold and silver supplied by the late Spanish dominions in America, for the twenty years terminating in 1829, is thus estimated:

Mexico .....	\$220,043,200
Guatemala .....	2,893,710
Columbia .....	33,564,267
Peru .....	64,688,429
Buenos Ayres .....	30,000,000
Chili .....	16,618,880
Brazil .....	19,892,400

\$387,700,886

Or at 4s. 2d. the dollar..... £80,736,768

As early as 1824 gold was found in North Carolina; to wit, 1824, \$16,000; 1825, \$17,000; 1826, \$20,000; 1827, 21,000; 1828, \$46,000; 1829, \$128,000. Also in Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, small quantities were found at the same time.

A recapitulation of the amounts thus far stated, presents the following results of the produce of precious metals from the mines of America:

From 1492 to 1600 .....	£130,458,000
1600 to 1700 .....	337,500,000
1700 to 1810 .....	786,464,434
1810 to 1829 .....	80,736,768

£1,235,159,202

We have thus far followed chiefly the estimate of Humboldt and Ward and Jacobs. Some discrepancy must necessarily exist in the absence of positive reports, between the results of every investigation.

For the following tables we are indebted to M. Michel Chevalier's *Remarks on the Production of the Precious Metals*:

*Production of the Silver and Gold Mines of America prior to the Discovery of California.*

COUNTRIES.	SILVER.		GOLD.		Total for each country in millions of Francs.
	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.	
United States..	.....	.....	22,125	76	76
Mexico .....	61,985,522	13,774	389,269	1,341	15,115
New Granada..	259,774	58	566,748	1,952	2,010
Peru }	58,765,244	13,059	340,393	1,172	14,231
Bolivia }	.....	.....	1,342,300	4,623	4,628
Brazil .....	.....	.....	250,142	862	1,098
Chili .....	1,040,184	251	.....	.....	.....
Total .....	122,050,724	27,122	2,940,977	10,026	37,148

*Quantities of Gold and Silver supplied to the European Markets by the following countries in three centuries ending in 1848.*

COUNTRIES.	SILVER.		GOLD.	
	Weight in Kilogrammes	Value in Millions of Francs.	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.
Europe, exclusive of Russia	9,000,000	2,000	445,150	1,500
Russia.....	1,485,000	300	319,330	1,100
Africa and the Islands of the Malay Archipelago, &c...	.....	.....	725,750	2,500
Total.....	10,485,000	2,300	1,490,230	5,100

In 40 years, from 1790 to 1830, Mexico produced £6,436,453 of gold, and £139,818,032 of silver. Chili, £2,768,488 of gold, and £1,832,924 of silver. Buenos Ayres, £4,024,895 of gold, and £27,182,673 of silver.

The following table shows the annual product (approximate calculation) in value of fine gold and silver for 1846 and 1850, the former being two years before, and the latter two years after the discovery of the gold mines of California. We are indebted for it to the *Western Journal and Civilian*. The statistics of later date may be found in previous volumes of our REVIEW and INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES.

	1846.			1850.		
	Gold. £	Silver. £	Total. £	Gold. £	Silver. £	Total. £
California.....	.....	.....	.....	12,000,000	62,068	12,062,078
United States.....	237,336	1,864	239,230	115,430	11,444	126,854
Mexico.....	240,752	3,457,020	3,706,773	389,901	5,383,333	5,766,234
New Granada.....	252,407	42,929	295,336	252,407	42,929	295,336
Peru.....	96,241	1,000,583	1,096,824	96,241	1,000,583	1,096,824
Bolivia.....	60,337	460,191	520,548	60,337	460,191	520,548
Chili.....	145,585	296,029	442,614	145,585	297,029	442,614
Brazil.....	259,871	2,003	261,874	289,068	2,227	291,295
Total of North & South America	1,301,560	5,261,619	6,563,179	13,341,960	7,250,824	20,601,513

#### Art. IV.—THE PUBLIC LANDS AND LAND SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

[In this admirable treatise, prepared by the Hon. John Perkins, of Louisiana, as an argument before Congress on the subject of the public lands, is condensed the whole history of the system, and a multitude of most interesting facts relating to the statistics of our public lands. The subject was never so thoroughly discussed before, and it will recommend itself to the attention of all of our readers. Gen. Cass has spoken of the argument in the highest terms, and agrees that "the administration of the domain had better be committed to the respective States upon some such general principles as it advocates."—*Ed.*]

Or all the great questions that have been discussed within these walls, no one has so deeply affected the legislation of the country as that of the disposition of the public lands. Like agriculture

in our material interests, it is at the bottom, and has affected every other interest. In addressing the House in explanation of the substitute I have offered, I should feel great diffidence if I proposed more than to recall the views of those who have already discussed the subject. Within the hour allowed me, I can only state principles and facts, and indicate, without arguing, their application.

Mr. Calhoun once remarked to Chief Justice Marshall, who frequently repeated it in illustration of the mental analysis of the great South Carolinian, that there were but two things to be considered in the formation of government—the *organization and distribution of power*. The force of this remark is especially felt in any attempt to discuss the policy or operation of our land system without first tracing it to its origin. From an insignificant agency under a clerkship of the Treasury Department, it has, with our increase of population and extension of territory, become a distinct branch of the government, extending, in its various ramifications, into thirteen States of the Union, and exerting an influence that, looking to the delicacy and importance of the interests affected, and the nature of our institutions, can find no parallel, except in the India Board, governing from London the immense territories of England in the East.

It was looking at this great development in 1839, when we had only about three-sevenths of our present territory, that Mr. Calhoun said he was satisfied that the period had arrived when its entire revolution, as applicable to the States, was unavoidable. His words were: The States "have outgrown the system. Since its first adoption they have come into existence—have passed through a state of infancy—and are now arrived at manhood. The system which was wise and just at first, is neither wise nor just, when applied to them in their changed condition."

What was originally this system? What its operation? In what is it defective? What are the remedies proposed? Are they constitutional and expedient?

The bill which I offer is directed rather against a vice of organization than of principle. It was first proposed in a resolution introduced into the Senate of the United States, in 1826, by Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia; it was indicated in the message of General Jackson, in 1832, and brought to the notice of the Senate by Mr. Calhoun, in 1837, in a bill almost identical in terms with the present one.

In 1839, Mr. Calhoun advocated it in the Senate. In 1840, he secured a report in its favor from the Senate Committee on Public Lands, composed of Robert J. Walker, chairman; Fulton, of Arkansas; Clay, of Alabama; Prentiss, of Vermont; and Norvell, of Michigan. In 1841, Judge Young, of Illinois, again introduced it into that body, where, after discussion, there were eighteen votes in its favor and twenty-two against it. Among

those voting for it I find the names of Allen of Ohio, Anderson, Benton, Calhoun, Clay of Alabama, Fulton, King of Alabama, Linn, Lumpkin, Mouton, Nicholson, Norvell, Robinson, Sevier, Smith of Connecticut, Tappan, Walker of Mississippi, and Young of Illinois.

Before explaining its provisions, it will be necessary to state briefly the history of the acquisition of the public lands, and the policy which has controlled their disposition.

After the declaration of independence, and before the adoption of the articles of confederation, the disposition of the vacant lands in the West, claimed by the several colonies, became a subject of controversy. Maryland, and other of the smaller States, contended that this unsettled domain, if wrested by the common blood and treasure of the thirteen colonies, should be "common property, parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times" as Congress should determine. Maryland refused to accede to the confederation, because this point was not yielded. The other States acceded, reserving their rights to these lands as common property.

In March, 1780, New-York, to remove this dissatisfaction, tendered to the States her western lands; and in the same year, Congress passed a resolution "earnestly" recommending the other States having like possessions to do the same; declaring by resolve, on the 10th October, "that the unappropriated lands" which should "be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State," should be "disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States," which should become members of the federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty and freedom, and independence of the other States;" the lands to be "granted or settled at such times and under such regulations" as should afterwards be agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

In March, 1781, the Maryland delegates signed the articles of confederation; and under this compact the union of the colonies was complete.

The cession of New-York was accepted October, 1782. One of its conditions was, that the lands ceded should "be and inure for the use and benefit of such of the United States" as should "become members of the federal alliance," and for "no other use or purpose whatever."

In March, 1784, Virginia's cession was executed and accepted. One of its conditions was, that the lands ceded should be—

"Considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the United States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure,



and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

In 1785, '86, and '87, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina made cessions of their lands on similar conditions.

Our present government was organized on 5th March, 1789. The only allusion made to the public lands in the constitution was :

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

North Carolina's cession of land was accepted in April, 1790, and Georgia's in June, 1802. These cessions, almost in the terms of those of Virginia, except that Georgia's omitted the clause, "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure," were, like those of all the other colonies, a response to the recommendation of the confederation, and adopted by, and made binding upon, the government, to guard them as a common fund for the common benefit of all the States.

In May, 1785, within a year after the cession by Virginia, and before that from any other State, except New-York, Congress passed an ordinance regulating the survey of the public domain, which is the basis of our present system. From this it has been gradually built up by a long course of executive direction and congressional legislation.

On the 18th May, 1796, Congress passed the first law for the sale of the public lands.

The first land offices were opened at Cincinnati and Pittsburg. The price fixed was \$2 per acre—one half cash, the residue in one year. On the 10th of May, 1800, Congress extended the credit to one-fourth cash, the residue in four years. The credit granted induced excessive purchases, and in 1805 and '6, and at different periods subsequently up to 1820, Congress passed relief laws in mitigation of the system. In 1820 the present cash system was adopted, and the price reduced to \$1 25 per acre.

Appeals to Congress for relief now ceased. This was the *first* decided improvement in the system.

After this, acts of pre-emption were, at various times, passed by Congress, but limited and remedial in their character, until the 4th September, 1841, when our present prospective and general pre-emption law was passed. This was the *second* great improvement in the system.

A graduation bill, founded upon the exercise of the discretion a proprietor exhibits—discriminating in price according to the value of his lands—I consider the *third* great improvement in the system. This, although often urged upon Congress as a constitutional and wise mode of disposing of the large tracts of

nearly worthless land owned by the general government within the limits of the land States, has never yet become a law. A bill of this character, introduced by the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Cobb,] passed this House a few weeks since, and now awaits the action of the Senate.

Such is the history of the original acquisition of the public lands by the general government, and their organization under our present land system.

The machinery for their administration was inaugurated in the idea that the public lands were common property, pledged for the common debt, under the exclusive, but not unlimited, control of the general government, and to be used for the common benefit. It acted upon them as a surrender in the common interest, surrounded by the same checks, and to be disposed of subject to the same constitutional limitations, as the funds of the common treasury. Their management was placed under the Treasury Department; their proceeds paid into the common fund; and, except in the discrimination imposed by a proprietorship in kind, rather than in money, the same principles were to govern their administration.

Under these views, the machinery of the system has been developed from a single room in the Treasury Department, at an annual expense, in 1802 in Washington, of \$1,754 and throughout the country, \$4,765 26—total, including land offices and surveyors, \$6,519 26—into a General Land Office, created in 1812, with a Commissioner, appointed by the President, and elevated, in 1848, into almost a distinct branch of the government, under the Secretary of the Interior, at a cost, according to the estimate of this year, of \$189,875 for the Land Office at Washington, and \$342,640 for the other land offices and surveying departments—in all \$532,515, exclusive of California.

	Acres.
The land system began its operation upon the land in the Territories alone, amounting to.....	243,990,821
Acquired from Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.....	158,660,299
From Georgia.....	58,898,522
From North and South Carolina.....	26,432,000
And has extended to those since acquired, amounting to.....	1,165,389,741
Acquired from France, 1804.....	751,363,501
From Spain, 1819.....	37,931,520
From Mexico, 1847.....	376,004,720

Making in all, within the Territories and thirteen States of the Union, 1,409,380,563

It had, in 1802, eleven employés throughout the Union. It has now in the Territories and thirteen land States 336 federal officers, operating upon interests purely local, and of the highest importance to the citizens of the States—all controlled by, and in direct correspondence with, the general office at Washington.

Under its administration there had been surveyed, up to June 30, 1853, 336,202,587 acres—leaving then unsurveyed, 1,073,177,975 acres.

The expenses of all the branches of the government have increased in the same time, from \$3,737,080 in 1802, to about \$50,000,000 in 1853.

The population of the United States, at the time of the system's organization, in 1800, was 5,305,925; in 1850, 23,191,876.

The bill that I have offered as a substitute to the one before the House, is in the idea that this system has become unwieldy; and from a development, unanticipated at its institution, failed to accomplish the purposes of its creation.

It proposes to take nothing from the present land system which experience has shown to be valuable; but freeing it of incumbrances, to make permanent its three great improvements, and render them more effective.

It does not propose to sell or give away the public lands to the States within which they lie, but simply to transfer to them their administration, on conditions highly just and equitable to all the States—insuring greater attention to local interests, contravening no mooted constitutional point, simplifying the system, curtailing executive patronage, and confining its operation, as originally, to the Territories.

The amount of public lands within the States, (excluding California, which has 113,682,436 acres,) the administration of which will be conferred upon the States, is 168,178,818 acres; the amount of public land in the Territories, upon which the present system will continue to operate, is 864,069,170 acres.\*

The vast importance of this public domain to the future interests of the country cannot be appreciated. While in Great Britain proper an equal distribution of land would give a little over two acres to each individual, in the United States it would give 105 acres. This is the great peculiarity of our country. It is our security, and a magnificent basis upon which to erect our future greatness. We should not hasten to destroy it, but leave its settlement and reduction to cultivation to the operation of natural causes, aided by permanent laws.

I have said the substitute I offer is directed against a vice of organization, and not of principle. I will be better understood, perhaps, if I say the evils of our present land system result chiefly from its organization. These evils will be best considered in connection with the remedies proposed.

What is the substitute?

#### PROVISIONS OF THE BILL.

It provides for the cession of the public lands in the States of Alabama,

\* See Appendix A, at the end of this article.

Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California, to these States respectively, on certain conditions.

The said States are to pay into the United States treasury 75 per centum on the gross amount of their sales of such lands.

"That the minimum price, as now fixed by law, shall remain unchanged until the 30th day of June, 1855; but after that period, the price may be reduced by the States respectively, according to the following scale: all lands theretofore offered at public sale, and then remaining unsold ten years or upward preceding the 30th day of June, 1855, aforesaid, may be reduced by said States to a price not less than one dollar per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold fifteen years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may thereafter be reduced to a price not less than seventy-five cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold twenty years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may then be reduced by said States to a price not less than fifty cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold twenty-five years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may thereafter be reduced by said States to a price not less than twenty-five cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold thirty years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, shall be ceded immediately to the States in which said lands are situated: *Provided*, That all lands which shall remain unsold after having been offered at public sale for ten years, and which do not come under the above provisions, shall be subject to the provisions of pre-emption, graduation, and disposition aforesaid, at the respective periods of ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years after said sale, commencing from the expiration of ten years after the same had been offered at public sale."

The lands are to be subject to the existing legal subdivisions, reserving for each township and fractional township the sixteenth section for the use of schools.

Land sold at public auction to be subject to entry for cash only, according to a fixed graduation.

Acts of Congress in force at the time of the passage of this act to remain unchanged, unless modified by this act.

Lands after private entry may be sold, at the option of the purchaser, in quarter-quarter-sections. This disposition of lands to the States shall be in full of the five per cent. fund not already accrued to any State—said State to be liable for all the expense of sales and management of said lands, and for extinguishing Indian titles.

On failure to comply with the provisions of this act, the cession of lands to any delinquent State to be void; and all grants or titles thereafter made by any such State to be also void.

After every reduction in the price of the lands by the States, as provided for, the State legislatures may grant to the settlers on such lands rights of pre-emption, to last for 12 months, at such reduced rates; lands not taken by settlers at the end of that time may be entered by any other person, until the next reduction takes place, when, if not previously purchased, they shall be subject to the right of pre-emption for 12 months; and so on, from time to time, as said reductions take place.

The President to close the land offices, surveyor's office, &c., in any State included in this act that shall, as provided, accept the provisions of this act; and the commissions of said land officers and surveyors to expire at a period not beyond six months after the time for the law to take effect.

That from the passage of this act the States accepting the transfer under the terms offered, shall be relieved from all restrictions to tax any land by



the authority subject to the sale thereof; and all maps, papers, books, and accounts, relative to said lands, now in the General Land Office at Washington, shall be subject to the order of the Executives of the accepting States.

This was the bill as originally introduced by Mr. Speaker Boyd. To this I have added two amendments. The first amendment is a proviso to the first section, and is designed to authorize the States to grant alternate sections of land for railroad purposes. It is as follows:

*"Provided, That the State may, on the payment of the price fixed by this bill for the land along any railroad line, indemnify itself for the grant of alternate sections of land to such railroad by disposing of the remaining sections along the line at double the price fixed by this bill."*

This amendment embraces the question of granting alternate sections of land for railroads, and transfers the question to the States within which the lands are situated.

It authorizes the States to grant alternate sections of land along railroad lines within their borders, and indemnify themselves by disposing of the remaining sections along the line at double the price fixed by the bill.

By it each State may grant, at its discretion, that aid to railroad interests within its borders that is now asked of the general government. Under its operation, the general government is guaranteed by the State against any loss in the grant of alternate sections, and each State is made the judge, under the responsibility of a pecuniary interest, in what cases the grant should be made; for, as soon as a grant is made of alternate sections to any railroad, the State pays the regular per-centage that would be due upon the sale of those lands, to the general government, and is reimbursed, as already stated, by the sale of the remaining sections at double price. The other amendment extends the time for right of pre-emption in the second section, from ninety days to twelve months, and is for the benefit of actual settlers.

The lands in Territories are not affected by the provisions of the bill.

Under this bill the railroad interest is amply protected, the general government is more than reimbursed the purchase and survey of the public lands, and relieved of an onerous and annoying agency in their disposal, while the citizens of all the States are guaranteed the advantages of a graduation in their price.

The States are benefited by having settled within their borders all those annoying land claims and conflicting titles that come up to Washington from all quarters, to be decided frequently upon imperfect testimony.

Most of the Western States have already State as well as federal land offices within their limits. Under this bill the State land offices will do the work of both.

At present the general government pays to each State five per cent. upon the public lands within their borders, and the State cannot tax them for five years after they are sold.

By the substitute this is reversed: the State pays a certain per-centage to the general government. The receipt of this per-centage by the general government is insured by the titles under the State being dependent for their legality upon its payment.

In few words, it proposes to transfer all the lands within the States to the States in which they lie, on two conditions:

*First*, that the States shall dispose of them at \$1 75 cents, 50 cents, and 25 cents, according as they have been offered for sale, ten, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five years.

*Second*, that the States pay to the general government 75 per cent. upon the net amount realized from their sale. This per-centage is to be paid quarterly, as the lands are disposed of at the State land offices; those remaining unsold at the end of thirty years to belong to the States.

A great argument in favor of the substitute is, that it curtails executive patronage. By its adoption 228 federal offices will be abolished and their duties imposed upon State officers.

Mr. Calhoun, to whom it was given to detect danger to the constitution before it was visible to most minds, and whose eloquence was but the earnest protest of the future against the present, once said that the greatest instruments of consolidation under our government were the land-office, the currency, and the post-office.

The constitution, as originally interpreted by its framers, left the great mass of legislation to the States, and restricted the federal government to the management of foreign affairs, and a few internal matters. Yet, so disguised under a pride of national greatness has been the tendency to consolidation, that, insensibly, one power after another has been assumed, until the general government, almost to the exclusion of the State governments, has made itself felt in all the relations of life. Its encroachments have been invisible, but constant.

With the addition of each new State, the relative greatness of the general government has been increased, and that of the individual States diminished. With increased power to reward, its offices have become more valuable.

The popular mind has associated increase of constitutional power with national development. Congress has absorbed nearly all the legislation of the country—its sessions increasing in length, while those of the State legislatures have become less frequent and shorter.

Under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, in 1802, there were but five heads of departments: there are now seven.

There were then but 3,806 federal officers ; there are now in the employment of government, throughout the country, 35,456.

The adoption of the substitute will abolish 228 of these ; and, with advantage to the particular interests involved, transfer their duties to those of the States.\*

John Randolph, of Roanoke, speaking on this subject in the Senate of the United States, in March, 1826, said :

I wish that every new State had all the lands within the State, that, in the shape of receiverships and other ways, these States might not be brought under the influence of *this ten miles square*. In other words, I wish that all the patronage of the land office was in the hands of the individual States, and not in the hands of the general government. I am the friend of State rights, and will cut down the patronage of this general government, which has increased, is increasing, and must be diminished ; or we—the States—shall be not only “shorn of our beams,” sir, but abolished quite.

Mr. Van Buren, in May of the same year, in the Senate, said : The public lands “had extended the patronage of the government over the States to a great extent,” and “subjected” those in which they were situated “to an unwise and unprofitable dependence on the federal government. No man could render the country a greater service than he who should devise some plan by which the United States might be relieved from the ownership of this property by some equitable mode.” He would vote for a proposition on such terms.

In 1830, Mr. Hayne, in the Senate, said :

More than one-half our time has been taken up with the discussion of propositions connected with the public lands, and more than one-half our acts embrace provisions growing out of this fruitful source.

In 1839, Mr. Calhoun said, the discussion about their disposition consumed one-third of the time of Congress.

Mr. Speaker Boyd, in answer to an inquiry made by me, under date of May 21, 1854, says :

I state as my deliberate opinion, that, during the sixteen years I have served in Congress, at least one-third of the entire time of that body has been consumed in the consideration of questions connected in one form or another with our public land system.

The Clerk of this House, Colonel Forney, in a note in reply to an inquiry on the subject, says :

Fifteen hundred columns of the Congressional Globe and Appendix for the Thirty-second Congress are taken up with debates on public lands ; and the expense to the government incurred alone by the time consumed was \$143,520.

Again : this substitute not only reduces the patronage of the general government resulting from the administration of the

\* See Appendix B, at the end of this article.

public lands, but it takes them out of the political arena. A question purely of political economy will no longer be made one of partisan controversy. It is non-intervention in the local interests and politics of the States.

I desire to discuss this subject upon elevated principles, and without appeal to party feelings. But I ask members if the disposition of the public lands has not been an element, on one side or the other, in all our political contests? It was directly connected with the great Hayne and Webster debate; and, after arraying in opposition the old and the new States, and embittering feeling at the North and the South, has ever since affected the regulation of the tariff.

It was closely connected with all the financial measures of General Jackson's administration, mixed itself up with his contest with the United States Bank, and became the suggestion of a change in the constitution. It has ever been associated with the discussion of the power of Congress to make internal improvements; and now, when one after another of these questions have been settled or passed away, it remains with the subject of slavery to monopolize our time and embarrass legislation.

Is this never to cease? Having assisted to make and unmake Presidents for half a century, is it to continue a fund upon which individual members may draw to supply political capital for their districts? Has not the return of members to this House been made in a greater degree to depend upon the legislation of Congress upon this subject than upon any other? Do not measures, objectionable in principle, ally themselves with grants of land to force representatives to the alternative of a violation of their conviction of constitutional right, or a seeming antagonism to the interests of their constituents?

I believe, sir, there is a general desire that this should cease. I believe it to be the feeling of the country, that the public lands should be disposed of, once for all—justly and equitably—to prevent improper combinations—to reduce the length of our sessions, and enable us to legislate on other matters.

On the eve of Mr. Webster's first visit to Europe he was asked the object of his trip. His reply was, that, in addition to a desire to see the objects of natural interest, to one visiting the Old World, he wanted to get where he could see a man who had never made a bargain. I would not intimate that this expression was in any way associated with, or the result of, his political experience; but I may say, without reflection upon that great man, that the desire was by no means unnatural to any one who had been even a spectator of the legislation of Congress in reference to the public lands.

On this point I will not enlarge. Sixteen years ago, in 1839, Mr. Calhoun, in speaking of the subject, said:



I ask not whether it would be wise to continue the old system. No, sir, a far bolder question—will it be practicable? \* \* \*

It is easy to see how this would end; the public domain, the noble inheritance of the people of this Union, would be squandered, or rather gambled away in the contest, and would thus be made at the same time the means of plunder and corruption, and of elevating to power the most profligate and audacious.

Has this prediction been realized? Let one of many years' experience in this House, and yet in the counsels of the country, answer. Three weeks since, speaking on a bill that has passed this House, Senator Thompson, of Kentucky, said:

It seems to me, since I have had the honor to come to the national councils, whether in this or the other house of Congress, the public lands have been bandied about eternally as a bribe in the shape of cession and retrocession, in the shape of graduation and of distribution, and of every imaginable project.

Of all the interests of the country, the land or agricultural should be least affected by, or dependent upon, legislation. Upon it rest all other branches of national industry, and its value should be controlled by laws uniform and permanent. It is bad enough that the commerce of the country should be influenced by measures purely political; but trade partakes in some sort of the character of an adventure, and readily adapts itself to circumstances. Not so with land. The tiller of the soil may have a knowledge of chemistry, but he knows nothing of political chicanery. He watches the changes in the natural, not in the political elements, and looks to the ground, not to Congress, for his annual profit or the increased value of his land. And yet, if Congress issue twenty millions of land warrants, as proposed by the bill of the gentleman from New York, or throw as many acres of land gratuitously, or at greatly reduced prices, upon the market one year, and none the next, the price of every man's farm will be as variable as your commercial stocks.

Sir, if you have the power, you have no moral right thus to subject the staid and sober interests of the home-staying, hard-working farmers of the country, to the fluctuations of your commercial, or the tidal movements of your political sea.

Again: the substitute not only takes the public lands out of the political arena, but frees the land States from a humiliating vassalage. They have risen up out of the wilderness under a pledge given at the origin of the government, that they should be received into the Union with equal rights with the other States; and yet, they are now fettered by a system inflicting upon them all the evils of absenteeism.

The lands of the sovereign of England may be taxed in the shire in which they lie, while those of the general government within the States are exempted and held for years at prices above their value, causing emigration to seek other localities. They, in

fact, act upon the surface of the new States like the immense corporations of Mortmain, which it cost England a revolution to get rid of.

By a calculation made (by Mr. Sumner) in the Senate of the United States, in 1849, the land States, from a forbearance to tax the lands of the general government, after survey, have lost \$72,000,000. How long will the idea of a paternity of the old over the new States prevent a practical conviction in the popular mind of their entire equality?

Dispose of the public lands within the States to the States in which they lie, under the terms of this bill, and you at once get rid of the embarrassing questions which constantly force the States to protest or memorialize against a proprietorship within their borders, which, although it extend to half their limits, they can neither tax nor raise contributions from, for the general good, and which forces you to dole out to them the small pittance of five per cent. upon their sales.

But I have other arguments in favor of this bill, less general in their character, but not less important, and whose practical force must strike every one who has observed the progress of legislation in this House.

If the numerous causes which have attended, within the last twenty years, the unexampled development of this country, could be analyzed, perhaps *to no one would be ascribed so much importance as that of railroads*. North, South, East, and West, in all portions of the country, and by all classes, their advantages are appreciated. Your Atlantic cities have dug through mountains to extend them to the West; and stretching them along your rivers and across your richest agricultural regions, the humblest proprietor has not hesitated to contribute, and has reaped a return in the greatly enhanced value of his land. So certain is this increased value of real estate along their line, that whole communities and States, looking to it as a result, have laid general taxes for their creation. In fact, it is now almost an acknowledged truth of political economy, and taxation for no other purpose is so popular.

Under these circumstances, is there anything extravagant in the expectation on the part of the States that the general government should contribute, like every other proprietor within their limits, to the construction of railroads enhancing greatly the value of the public domain? The 5 per cent. upon the sales of the public lands within the States is now given them as a return, and in some sort acknowledgment of the benefit the lands of the government derive from the construction of ordinary roads. Is there anything so unreasonable in the call of the States upon the general government to make a similar return for the enhanced value of its land—the result of local taxation, that the humblest pro-

prietor is made to pay—to justify the advocates of railroad grants before this House being regarded as speculators upon the public treasury, or to explain the repugnance with which some members listen even to the suggestion of such grants?

This repugnance springs from the vice in the organization of our land system, of which I have spoken. It is neither insensibility to the justice of this claim, nor a belief in the want of constitutional power, that creates this opposition with many, but an inability to decide upon interests purely local, and whose expediency must depend upon circumstances and facts peculiarly liable to perversion.

The bill I propose transfers the decision of these grants to the legislatures of the States. If the railroads seeking them deserve encouragement, and the alternate sections reserved will compensate in value for those granted, it will be best known to the legislatures of the States in which the lands lie, and through which the roads pass. The States lose nothing; deserving railroads receive encouragement; and in no event will the general government sacrifice a dollar.

On this point I may be pardoned for speaking with some earnestness. Under our present land system, railroads peculiarly worthy of grants of alternate sections of land from Congress, without opposition at home, and supported by an unanimous delegation here, suffer from the multiplicity of similar but locally contested demands. Members of Congress, in their inability to examine each, and the impossibility of granting all these demands, feel a reluctance to grant any.

Louisiana has suffered from this circumstance. The oldest, and in some sort the mother of all the States formed out of the territory purchased of France, west of the Mississippi river, she has never received an acre of land for railroad purposes, while the States on all sides of her have had grants. Having within her borders the mouth of the Mississippi river, through which flow all the waters of the west, and where its delta, gradually depressed to almost a level with the Gulf of Mexico, widens out to ten times its width in the States above—from the nature of her soil impassable by ordinary roads, and dividing from the Atlantic and Southern States the commerce of Texas and the West—she has now an application before this House for land for railroad purposes, less in amount than that already granted some of the Western States, endorsed in her demand by legislative subscription of one-fifth of the capital of her railroad companies, and a memorial in their behalf; the people along their line having liberally subscribed, and the States of Mississippi and Texas on each side with railroads brought to her borders, and asking to be connected; and yet, her delegation cannot urge these claims, deserving of consideration as they are, without encountering a pre-

judice against railroads, and wearying this House with facts too purely local to be generally known, and yet constituting the merit of her demand.

I appeal to the railroad interest in this House, what has been the experience of the session?

From the great amount of business before the Committee on Public Lands, and its necessary consumption of time, has not a prejudice been created against its action? The first railroad bill it proposed was objected to on grounds purely local, and telegraphic dispatches read to show that it was an attempted fraud. I voted for that bill in spite of the able opposition of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Letcher,) not because Louisiana also had railroad bills, but because I thought I had evidence that the gentleman was himself imposed on, and that it was late, after having been two years before Congress, for it to be discovered, by telegraphic dispatches, just as we were going to vote, to be fraudulent. But, what was the effect upon the House? Such a prejudice against all railroad bills was created, that no member was willing to trust his particular bill, whatever its merits, to a vote.

What was to be done? Report them for passage and they would be killed; *send* them to the Committee of the Whole, they could never be reached; *give* up the floor and retain them for report at a more favorable time, should the Public Land Committee ever be again called, was the only course left. This was done, and I think wisely done. But who can say when that committee will again be called? Will it be before the last month in the session? Will it be at all?

Such has been the embarrassment of the railroad interest in this House during the past session. Information is asked for; and when a member rises to give it, no one listens. The land committee by much labor possesses itself of facts, and there is created a prejudice against it because of its very accumulation of facts. Seek to give information to members out of the House; introduce to them the president or directors of our railroads to be questioned, cross-examined if desired, about their roads, there is at once the cry of lobby influence.

Two presidents of railroad companies from my section of the Union visited this city, after participation in the late convention at Charleston. They were full of information on subjects connected with the enterprise of the South—persons of character and gentlemen of amiable and pleasant manners, in every respect the equal of members upon this floor; and yet, though I felt satisfaction from personal grounds in doing so, I could never introduce them to a member of this House without the fear he would suppose there was a lobby influence about to be exerted.

This substitute is valuable for other reasons of much impor-



tance, and to which I ask the particular attention of the House. It will transfer to the States the settlement of that large class of contested land cases which now come before the Land Commissioner in this city for decision. It will refer to the State Legislature those numerous applications for special legislation regarding land titles which now embarrass this House, and to the State courts that immense amount of litigation which has been expensively prosecuted in the United States Courts.

A commissioner to settle claims of any kind is connected with no pleasing recollections in the popular mind; and were it not that the ability and experience of Mr. Wilson, the present Land Commissioner, has relieved it in his case of odium, I believe the permanent existence of a commission at Washington, subject to Executive removal, for deciding, upon appeal from the different land registers in the States, conflicting land rights between citizens and the government—not in open court, but in the retirement of his chamber—would be regarded as a monstrous solecism in our government.

In its remoteness from the locality where the parties reside and the conflicts arise, and in the amount of discretion necessarily exercised by the Commissioner, it is, in principle, the Star Chamber of England—acting upon interests less important, to be sure, but not the less sacred. As members from the old States may not be familiar with the nature and extent of these conflicting rights decided upon in the Land Office of this city, I will read a short extract from an interesting and well-written sketch furnished me by Mr. Wilson, of the Land Office:

The surveying system of the United States is marked by two distinctive characteristics. It operates first upon what is known as the "public lands," in contradistinction to the "private land claims," or foreign titles derived from the governments of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico, and grants conceded to Indians in the various treaties of cessions between the United States and the several tribes since the foundation of the republic.

They grow out of the great variety of claims, such as the right to purchase under the laws of the United States; to locate lands by military warrants; for State selections under certain laws, as swamp-lands; also, in virtue of pre-emption privileges, for schools, universities; and their interferences arise at times by reason of priority of title derived from the sovereignties which preceded us, and known as "private land" titles. This class are of every imaginable variety, from a few hundred feet in extent as town-lots, increasing to 40 arpens, and thence up to tracts exceeding over a million of arpens each in extent, founded upon a variety of titles, such as inceptive or nascent grants, known as requêtes, or permits; orders of survey from the authorities of the former governments; actual surveys by such authorities, and titles in form or complete grants.

Before the Executive department can recognize these, it is required that they shall either receive the sanction of Congress by an express confirmatory law, or by a decree of the United States Courts pursuant to law. To effect this, boards of commissioners have been instituted from time to time, from the year 1805 to 1835, to examine and make reports on all these

varieties of title. Congress have also passed numerous laws confirming such titles, and leaving others unconfirmed; whilst other enactments have been passed shielding the unconfirmed from sale, and then, after the lapse of years, opening the district courts for their adjudication, with an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. \* \* \* All such foreign titles as may be thus sanctioned or confirmed by Congress are to be surveyed. \* \* \*

When these surveys are returned to Washington City authenticated by the United States Surveyor-General, they are carried into grant at the General Land Office, and a perfect record kept of the same, and of all the proceedings, from the first steps taken in the matter to its final consummation and delivery of title. The extent and intricacy of this business can scarcely be understood without an elaborate exhibit. The private land claims originating under the system may be summarily classified as arising from—

1. Private entries, or sales of lands to individual purchasers, where they conflict with each other from the omission of the local officers to note the first sales on the maps or records.
2. Pre-emptions, where there are conflicts between different claimants to the same land, or with a private sale improvidently made.
3. Military bounty land locations, under the laws of Congress of 1812, 1847, 1850, 1852, conflicting with each other, or with claims of another character.
4. Swamp selections, conflicting with other locations or previous sales.
5. School selections, seminary locations, and special grants, of great variety.

On this subject, Louisiana has some right to speak. The greatest part of her litigation has resulted from conflicting claims under our land system. A large majority of the feuds—less frequent now than formerly—among her citizens, have had in this their origin.

By far the greatest number of letters I receive from constituents treat of business in our Land Office. The greatest portion of my time, and the hardest labor that I have had to perform since I have been a member of this House, has been in attending to business of this character. And what has been the effect of the system within her limits?

Mr. Benton, in the Senate, in 1829, said, (G. & S. D. and R., p. 5.) "The Federal Government has done nothing towards settling Louisiana. The kings of France and Spain gave the lands upon which its first 'settlements' were made, and, 'for all that the Federal Government has done, that State would now be a desert.'"

Mr. Livingston, in 1830, speaking on the same subject in the Senate, (G. & S. D. and R., p. 31.) said that Louisiana, in the twenty-five years she had been in the Union, had been retarded just one-half in her population by the federal land system.

Mr. Webster, in 1738, in view of the anomalous character of this same system, proposed, as a matter "of great importance"—I use his words—that all "questions arising at the General Land Office and the local land offices, with respect to the mode

of finally deciding upon disputed land titles," should be settled in the United States Court; but it was resisted as too expensive for the class most interested. And yet in 1844, Congress was obliged, from the great accumulation of contested cases within Louisiana, to adopt that course, in a law which gave jurisdiction to the United States District Court, for five years, of all land claims in the State originating with either the Spanish, French, or British authorities.

And what is our position now? My desk is full of bills for the relief of claimants that should be, and would be, expeditiously passed, under the substitute I have offered, by the State Legislature, and which I cannot, until after much delay, under the rules of the House, even present for consideration.

On this point, the Commissioner of the Land Office tells me: "It would have been economy in the first settlers of Louisiana to have purchased anew their lands from the government, rather than to have incurred the expense of their confirmation."

But even when we are so fortunate as to get them before committees of this House, what is the result?

The Chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims (Mr. Hillyer, of Georgia) says, in a letter to me:

There have been referred to his committee, this session, over one hundred cases, but few of which they have been able to report. They have many ready to report when opportunity offers, but they have not been called since the 6th February, and he does not know when they will again be called.

The chairman of Private Claims (Mr. Edgerton, of Ohio,) writes me, that during the 32d Congress there were referred to his committee four hundred and forty-two cases; a very small number of which were ever reported to the House for action, by reason of the time for reports being consumed for a great part of the first session by the Committee on Public Lands.

The precise time I do not recollect, but believe it to have been nearly five months. I think the Committee of Claims was not called for reports after the 1st March in the first session of the 32d Congress. A large number of cases have been acted upon by this committee during the present session of Congress. The number now ready to be reported is eighty-four; but the committee has not been called since February, and probably will not be for months.

Is there a disposition to bring our Pacific States under this system, when from the peculiarities of their laws and settlements, they will have even more than a proportionate number of claims of this character? Will there not result a total denial of justice?

I ask if members are prepared to apply this system to the distant States that are coming into existence on our Pacific coast? Will the members from California, who guard so care-

fully the interests of their State, agree that their constituents should send half round the globe to have rights as sacred as those arising under our land system determined by a land commissioner in this city? Will their constituents acquiesce?

To my mind, the grandest spectacle of the age is the gradual growth of the colonies along the Pacific coast into free and independent States, received into this Union on an equality with those on the Atlantic. On looking back a little more than a century, to the first feeble settlements on our eastern shore, and then, from the stand-point of our present national greatness, forward into the future, at the spread of civilization and art, and the growth of towns, cities, and commerce, along our western shore, the mind is by turns awed and dazzled by the vision. The Roman poet, taking his hero to a point from which he could view the successive generations of his nation spreading out into all the greatness of the Roman empire, describes him as shedding tears over the ills that he saw were to befall them. In our case, if we are wise, there is no such cause of sadness.

The unseen but ever-operating influence of law, properly guarded, is the security, at the same time that it is the most beautiful result, of our institutions. In a popular government, where all power comes of the people, reverence for it is a high moral manifestation. It is free will, self-controlled. It has the majesty of power, self-limited; and, like force in nature, or labor in art, it is at the bottom of, and creates, and is, as it were, the breath and being of our national existence. Regarding it in this light, I deplore anything that weakens its respect.

I will not enlarge on this point; but, familiar with the character and the hardy virtues of the men living on the frontiers of our distant land States, who are to be affected in their rights of pre-emption, settlement, and the like, which, as self-created, and born of adventure in the woods, are cherished with an enthusiastic devotion, I much fear you are imposing upon them a system that will prove expensive and oppressive, and that, failing of advantage to the government, will be productive only of litigation and bloodshed.

The substitute I have offered proposes, at a diminished expense to the federal government, to remedy this evil; and I thank the honorable Speaker Boyd for having suggested to me the propriety of bringing it, at this time, to the attention of the House.

As this substitute has not yet been discussed in the House, I must anticipate objections to it, and answer them in advance.

1. That the bill of the gentleman from New York provides for giving to the old States specifically a portion of the proceeds of the public lands, while the substitute provides that the pro-



ceeds above the expense of their administration shall be paid into the common treasury, for the common benefit.

I will not repeat the argument that the old States are *legally* entitled only to benefit by the public lands as a "common fund" of the States collectively, and not separately; that the condition of Virginia's cession, that their proceeds should be distributed according to the usual "charge and expenditure," referred to the mode of taxation under the confederation, each State paying separately its quota to the support of the general government; and that the subsequent formation and adoption by the States of our present Constitution, with the clause giving Congress power over the territory like other property, evidences the intention of the cession to have been general; and that the omission of the expression, "usual charge and expenditure," in the cession from Georgia, made subsequent to this period, though in other respects in the same words as that of Virginia, is confirmatory of the fact. Nor will I stop to inquire what *equitable* right the old States can urge upon the proceeds of the public lands in the new States, having themselves originally obtained most of the lands within their limits by grant, and sold and applied their proceeds; Connecticut's magnificent school fund having been derived mostly from this source, and Massachusetts and Maine, at the present time, having State land offices, from which they receive an annual revenue from the sales of land in Maine.

The public lands cannot be apportioned in kind. There is no standard by which to determine satisfactorily the annual charge and expenditure of the States. Federal representation will not serve as a basis; for that representation and taxation are not correlative under the general government, has been the constant complaint of both sections of the Union. Shall their proceeds constitute a fund in the hands of the general government to supply deficiencies or inequalities in this respect, and Congress exercise discretion as to the mode and amount of their application to particular State institutions?

Abuse in the extreme exercise of a general power of the Constitution is often scarcely distinguishable from the assumption of an unconstitutional power. It should be remembered, however, that power under that instrument is by special grant, with restrictions upon the exercise of general power. A different mode of interpretation would have the effect to change the entire nature of our Constitution. Admit in Congress the right to determine and legislate at discretion over the public lands for the common benefit and to promote the general welfare, and its power is unlimited; for as the Constitution speaks of "territory" and "other property" of the United States in the same clause, the instruments and agencies of government, and the

funds in the common treasury, would be, equally with the public lands, under its control.

But of the lands ceded by the States few now remain. Those upon which the system is henceforward to operate were acquired either by purchase or conquest, and any argument, therefore, founded upon terms of original cession is without application.

Waiving, however, the constitutional argument, and regarding it merely as a matter of expediency, I contend, in the words of the able report of the chairman (Mr. Disney) of the Committee on Public Lands of this House, that "no more expensive mode could be devised to support local institutions than to make the federal government the agent to raise and distribute the means. With the States lies the power necessary for their management and economical administration. Supported by means raised by the authority of the State, no injustice can be inflicted upon the people of other States. State provision, as between the States, would be just from necessity, and from interest it would be economical."

If it is desired to secure to the citizens of the old States the benefit of these lands, in no way can it be so effectually done as under the provisions of this substitute. Whatever the States through the general government have paid out for these lands will be returned into the general treasury, and reducing taxation to the amount of their sale will be a common fund for the support of the general government.

Whatever benefits the settlers upon the public lands are to derive from this bill will be shared by the citizens of all the States in proportion as they choose to avail themselves of them. The States in which the lands lie cannot appropriate them in payment of their debts, or grant peculiar advantages of purchase or ownership to their own citizens. They are to administer them, but without power to discriminate in price or pre-emption against the citizens of other States. One State cannot have one price and terms of sale, and another State different; the system will act uniformly in all. The States cannot even purchase them from the government, and sell them at a higher price. They can purchase at the price fixed, but must also sell at the graduated price in the bill, except in the case of lands along the line of railroads, alternate sections of which may be disposed of at double price; but even in that case conditioned that the remaining sections are granted for the construction of the road.

Here I meet the objection that the effect of a graduation in the price of the public lands draws off to the West the wealth of the Atlantic States.

It is true that the centre of population and wealth in this government is going west, and with it that of federal representa-

tion. It has been estimated that the wave of civilization rolls west at from 13 to 17 miles a year. According to a calculation of Dr. Patterson, of Philadelphia, as published in *DE BOW'S REVIEW*, the federal centre was, in 1790, Baltimore county, Maryland, 46 miles north and 21 east of Washington; in 1800, Adams county, Pennsylvania, 64 miles north and 30 west of Washington; in 1820, Morgan county, Virginia, 47 miles north and 71 west of Washington; in 1830, Hampshire county, Virginia, 43 miles north and 108 west of Washington; in 1840, Marion county, Virginia, 36 miles north and 160 west of Washington.

Thus going almost directly west, in 50 years, 182 miles, not varying in that time 10 miles north or south, and each year moving with increased velocity. In 1850 the centre had reached the Ohio river. It has now crossed it. Would you check this? Sir, it was attempted at an early period of our history, by a provision that the public lands should be sold township by township, no additional one to be offered until the last was sold. What was the result? Population ran not only beyond your surveys, but beyond your possessions. First Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa grew into existence; then, in addition to Louisiana, Florida and Texas were added; and now California, Oregon, Utah, and New Mexico, have come into political existence before we have been even able to extend to them our land system.

But, while this great tide of population and wealth has been rolling westward, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a uniformity that Alison, the historian, looking up from the effete and inert systems of the Old World, tells us has about it something of the solemnity and awe of the march of a great principle, it has left behind it no withering curse. Its progress has been rather like that of an Oriental monarch, scattering jewels on its path. The cities on our Atlantic coast have not the dismantled appearance either of a decaying population or of a diminished commerce. The hum of industry has not ceased in their workshops, nor grass grown upon their wharves.

So far from this having been the case, the West has but grown up to pour her treasures in their lap. By means of railroads, its magnificent prairies have become the suburbs of our Atlantic cities. The East envy the West! As well might the parent be jealous of the growing strength and elastic tread of his offspring. When man becomes callous to the scenes of youth, or can walk with insensibility over the spot where repose the remains of his ancestors, then, and not till then, may the East have cause of jealousy, or look with envy upon the West.

The old States have been so accustomed to gaze upon the magnificent panorama of developing greatness in the West, that they have become well nigh insensible to the fact that they, too, have been borne along by the same irresistible impulse. I per-

ceive, from authentic returns, that in the ten years from 1840 to 1850, there was an increase in the income of the inhabitants of the United States, of  $32\frac{1}{5}$  per cent.; that from all sources, ending June, 1850, was \$1,410,000,000; that for 1840, (Tucker,) \$1,063,134,736.

I have no means of ascertaining how this should be apportioned between the old and the new States; but, taking the increased value of property in some of the old States as a basis, I approximate a result.

The value of property in Massachusetts increased from 1830 to 1840, 43 per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, nearly 100 per cent.

In 1840, it was.....	\$299,880,358
In 1850, it was.....	597,936,995

A similar increase in wealth might be shown in New-York, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; so also in the Atlantic cities.

The value of property in Philadelphia increased between 1840 and 1850, 3 per cent. a year, or 30 per cent. in 10 years.

The value of property in Baltimore between 1840 and 1850 increased over 43 per cent.

From these data (and they could be extended south, through Virginia, to Georgia) it is evident that the old States have, in the last ten years, advanced in wealth proportionately with the new.

How has it been in population? By the census returns for 1850 it appears the rate of increase of population in the whole United States was—

From 1840 to 1850 .....	35 per cent.
That of the twelve land States, viz.: Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Michigan, Louisiana, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa .....	57 "
That of the thirteen old States .....	24 "
That of Great Britain and Ireland .....	2 "
That of England and Wales.....	12 per cent. }
That of Scotland.....	10 " }
That of Ireland (decrease).....	20 " }
That of France .....	4 "
That of Belgium .....	9 "
That of Prussia.....	10 "

These figures give no indication of decay on the part of the old States. On the contrary, when you look at the *nativities* of the citizens of the land States, their growth is seen to be in fact that of the old States.

From tables appended to these remarks, it will be seen that while, in the last ten years, the old States have advanced in population one hundred per cent. faster than the most flourishing of the European States, they have contributed of their citizens to the population of the land States in the proportion of more than one-fourth to their native population. New-York,



the State of the gentleman (Mr. Bennett) who introduces this bill, under a seeming sense of special wrong done his State, furnishes one-fourth to that contribution.\*

But this is not all. If we take the nativities of representatives in this House as an indication of the proportion in which the natives of the old States will participate in the benefits of the public lands lying within the land States, the result is still more striking.

Of the 234 members now composing this House, the thirteen old States, including among them Vermont and Maine, have, by representation, 134—the thirteen land States, 78; that is, while, by our *basis of representation*, the old States have more than one half ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ), and the land States one-third of the House, by *nativity* the old States have 191 members, and the land States but 15; that is, the old States have 81 per cent., and the land States have only 6.

Under these circumstances, the old States can never have reason to complain of injustice in the legislation of the country.

But I must hasten on. Is the per-centage to be paid by the land States upon the sale of lands within their limits adjusted in the bill so as to reconcile constitutional objections, and without being a gift or a sale of the lands, to relieve the federal government from expense in their administration, secure individual interest, and at the same time impose no onerous contract upon the States?

In the bill similar to this, introduced into the Senate in 1837, it was proposed that the States should pay over only 33½ per cent. By the bill of Judge Young, of Illinois, introduced in 1841, it was proposed they should pay over 65 per cent. of the gross amount. In fixing the amount at 75 per cent. in the present bill, the calculation has been made upon a basis intended to be strictly just towards the general government, the States, and to individuals.

The per-centage to be paid by the States is placed higher than in former bills, because—

1. There are now fewer lands unsurveyed in the States, and therefore, the expense of their administration will be less.

2. In nearly all the land States there are now State land offices or agencies created for the sale of lands donated to the States by the general government, and the additional expense of administering the remaining lands within their limits will be slight.

3. I desire that the bill should meet the constitutional views of gentlemen on both sides of the House, and operate simply as a transfer of the administration of the lands to the States in which they lie, and not as a donation or sale.

\* See Appendix C, at the end of this article.

The elements of the calculation upon which the per-centage is fixed at 75 per cent., I will state in a few words:

The average cost of the public lands, according to the calculation of Commissioner Wilson (Report of the General Land Office for 1853, page 47) is, per acre .....	14.41 cents.
Cost of surveying .....	2.07 "
Cost of selling and managing .....	5.32 "
Equal to, per acre,.....	21.80 "

Calculating it at 22 cents per acre, if the lands sell for \$1 35 per acre, which is the average price, the public lands brought into the United States treasury, up to June 1, 1849 (Commissioner Young's Report for 1848, appendix, page 555), the per-centage to reimburse the general government would be.....	16.25 per cent.
If sold for \$1 25 per acre, the per-centage would be .....	17.06 "
If sold for \$1 per acre, the per-centage would be.....	22 "
If sold for 75 cents per acre, the per-centage would be.....	30 "
If sold for 50 cents per acre, the per-centage would be.....	44 "
If sold for 25 cents per acre, the per-centage would be.....	88 "

Acres.

Applying this to the actual position and amount of the public domain, the total area of public land States (exclusive of California) is .....	381,115,470
The total number of acres remaining unsold in the land States (exclusive of California), on the 30th June, 1853, is .....	168,178,818.48
The average length of time the land States (excluding California) have been in the Union, is within a fraction of thirty years; and within that period there have been sold 103,197,356.35 acres, and disposed of for schools, internal improvements, individuals and companies, seats of government, military services, salines, Indians, &c., &c., &c., 104,194,722.89 acres; making a total of .....	207,392,079
Or sixty per cent. of the whole.	

Thirty years being the average time that the lands within the States have been offered for sale at \$1 25 per acre, if we estimate that the States, under the operation of the graduation prices of the bill, which is a very fair calculation, will dispose of an equal proportion of the public lands within the next thirty years, and that being the period at the expiration of which the lands remaining undisposed of are to be relinquished to the States, there will have been parted with in that time 100,907,290 acres. Under the graduating process, these 100,907,290 acres are to be sold at prices ranging from \$1 25 to 25 cents per acre, (the average rate of the bill,) and will bring \$75,680,468.

It is proposed that the land States pay to the general government 75 per cent. of the gross proceeds of the sales of those lands, which will amount to.....	\$56,760,351
Deduct the cost of the lands to the United States—say 168,178,818 acres, at 16½ cents per acre.....	27,749,505
Leaving a profit over and above cost to the United States of.....	29,010,846

* This 16½ cents is made up of—Cost.....	14.41 per acre.
Survey .....	2.07 "
	16.48 "

which the government has expended, and would be entitled to be repaid, if it had surveyed all the lands ceded.

The share of the States in the gross amount sold being 25 per cent. of \$75,680,468, is.....	\$18,920,117
Deduct for selling, managing, and surveying 100,907,290 acres, at seven cents* per acre.....	7,063,510
Leaving a profit over and above cost to the land States of.....	<u>11,856,607</u>

The number of acres remaining unsold at the end of thirty years, relinquished to the States in which they lie, will be 67,371,528 acres.

From these calculations it appears—on the basis of the graduation price in this bill, the same as that in the bill recently passed, and the estimate of the land office of 22 cents per acre for cost of survey, sale, management, &c., of the public lands—that when lands are sold at—

At \$1 25 per acre, the per-centage of expense is 18 per cent.—net yield 83					
When at 1 00	"	"	22	"	78
" 75	"	"	29	"	71
" 50	"	"	44	"	56
" 25	"	"	69	"	31
			<u>201</u>		<u>299</u>

The expense averaging about 40 per cent., and the net yield 60 per cent.

In fixing, therefore, the per-centage at 75 per cent., the federal government, besides getting rid of the vexatious questions attending the administration of the public lands, will receive in cash into the treasury 15 per cent. more from their sale, under the provisions of this bill, than under the present system.

So much for the general government. How will it affect the States?

1st. The States will gain \$11,856,607 above their expense in administration of the lands within their limits.

2d. The transfer, at the end of thirty years, of the lands remaining unsold, estimated at 67,271,528 acres.

3d. The right to tax land as soon as sold, in getting rid of the exemption from taxation of government lands for five years' after sale.

4th. They will secure all the aid in the construction of railroads within their limits which is now vainly sought for from Congress.

5th. The rapid sale and settlement of the lands within their limits, and the adjudication of all contested entries and disputed

\* The federal government has not surveyed all the lands ceded; therefore this seven cents is made up of—Survey..... 2.07 cents:  
Sale and management 5.32 "

7.39 "

That the calculation may be perfectly fair, both to the States and the general government.

land titles by their own legislatures and before their State courts.

6th. They will be freed from that species of vassalage arising from a large portion of their territory being held by the general government, and the subject of Executive influence and patronage within their limits.

But it must be remembered that while this bill tenders these advantages to the States, its passage by this House does not impose upon them their acceptance. By its terms, it offers merely their acceptance, giving a year within which the States may accept or not the administration of their lands. Is there a representative on this floor who will take upon himself the responsibility of denying to his State legislature the right of deciding this question? If some States accept, and others do not, to that extent the advantages we have described will result, and the present system will continue to operate exclusive of them, as it now operates exclusive of Texas, which in coming into the Union reserved the control of its own lands.

But will the States pay over this per-centage to the government?

Upon this point I will say—

1st. The States have already compacts with the federal government, relating to their lands: have they in one instance disregarded them?

2d. As the advantages secured them under this bill are greater than those hitherto possessed, there is every inducement to its observance.

3d. The federal government now pays over to the land States 5 per cent. upon the sales of the public lands within their limits. Will not the general government have the same power to enforce this per centage from the States that the States have now from the general government?

4th. But the bill provides a perfect guarantee, apart from all these considerations, for the payment of the per centage, in the clause which provides that on the failure of a State to perform any of the conditions of the cession, the patents issued by its authority are void. Every citizen within the State is thus made individually interested in his State's payment of the per centage, and any failure on their part to do so would be in the nature of an agent's failure to fulfil a trust.

And now as to the propriety, I may say necessity, for this change in our land system at this time. We have traced the origin and development of the system from its insignificant existence under a clerkship in the Treasury Department, to a well nigh independent branch of the government, extending over and affecting questions of most difficult adjustment directly connected with interests the most important, and



yet the most delicate that can arise between citizens and the government; and the question presented for our decision is not between its entire abolition and the adoption of a new system, but simply its modification in a way that will restrict it to the original purpose of its creation.

It began operating alone within the Territories; the different States having their own land offices. It now extends into thirteen States, and is about to go into operation in all the immense regions west to the Pacific. By law we have already extended it over, but as yet no lands have been surveyed and returned as sold in California, New Mexico, Utah, Nebraska, or the Northwest.

The Commissioner in his report says: "Numerous and complicated questions are constantly arising in the private land claim bureau of this office, with reference to the rights of parties, and the correct location of their claims. The records in many cases are so voluminous as to require days, and even weeks, simply to read them. To select and array the facts from such records, and to apply them to the acts of Congress, with reference also to the laws and usages of the governments with whom they originated, requires sound judgment, great care, and a thorough knowledge of every matter connected with the business. These cases are daily becoming more important from the great increase in the value of the property affected by them." "When the action of this office shall be required on the claims" in those regions, "the business of this bureau will be much more onerous;" "the buildings" are even now "insufficient," and "additional" clerks' salary necessary. There were, in the past year, 43,500 letters received, registered, examined, and recorded in his office; making 30 large folio volumes. The responsibility for the proper transaction of the business connected with all these letters now rests entirely with him.

Is it possible for any one man to meet this responsibility with satisfaction either to himself or the interests involved? In 1848, Robert J. Walker, the then Secretary of the Treasury, speaking of the onerous character and increasing number of questions coming up on appeal to him for decision from the Land Office, said: "I have pronounced judgment in 5,000 cases involving land titles since the 10th March, 1845;" an average of 1,333 per annum.

The Secretary of the Interior, speaking of the same accumulation of business in the Land Office, says the Commissioner has been compelled "to crowd eight or nine clerks," besides "desks, furniture," &c., into a single room where more than two clerks cannot be conveniently accommodated; and "files and papers" have so rapidly increased that many cases of valuable papers have of necessity been placed in the passages, without proper

"security from fire." "The Secretary of the Treasury," he continues, "requires the rooms now occupied by the Land Office," and has "made pressing application" for them.

We have now reached a period when either a great enlargement or entire reform of our land system is necessary. Adopt the substitute I have offered, and the General Land Office will be restricted in its operations to the Territories; the pressing accumulation of its business will be remedied; its expenses curtailed, and the evils described by the Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior removed. The general government will be relieved from legislating upon a most embarrassing subject; Executive patronage will be curtailed; and the land States, freed from the pressure of government possessions within their limits, will be less dependent upon Congress. Local taxation will fall equally upon all; railroad interests will receive judicious aid; and land proprietors in the new States obtain a speedy settlement of their claims. The sessions of Congress will be shortened; a great element of strife removed from its discussions; and opportunity afforded for legislation upon other subjects. Other influences, too, are favorable. We are on the eve of no Presidential election; the public lands are now under discussion in both branches of the legislature; the veto of the President has attracted attention to the subject, and there is a general disposition to adopt some mode of administering them that will be final, in being both just and constitutional.

## APPENDIX—A.

*Statement showing the amount of public lands unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered, up to June 30, 1853, in the following States, which includes all the land States.*

Acres.		Acres.	
Ohio.....	244,196.08	Arkansas.....	15,725,388.33
Indiana.....	246,339.41	Florida.....	29,262,674.59
Illinois.....	4,115,969.97	Iowa.....	22,773,175.57
Missouri.....	22,722,801.41	Wisconsin.....	23,678,486.19
Alabama.....	15,049,693.70	California.....	113,682,436.00
Mississippi.....	9,083,655.94		
Louisiana.....	9,134,143.81	Total.....	281,861,254.48
Michigan.....	16,142,293.48		

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, p. 45.]

*Statement showing the amount of public lands unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered, up to June 30, 1853, in the Territories of the United States.*

Acres.		Acres.	
Minnesota Territory.....	85,225,601	Kansas Territory.....	80,821,120
New Mexico Territory....	127,383,040	Chah-lah-kee Territory...	17,715,200
Utah Territory.....	113,589,013	Muscogee T. 343,274,240..	6,048,000
Oregon Territory.....	116,259,698	Chah-ta Territory.....	19,129,600
Washington Territory....	78,737,578		
Nebraska and Kansas:		Total.....	864,069,170
Nebraska Territory..	219,160,320		

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, page 45. Corrected and revised at the Land Office June 3, 1854.]

## STATEMENT OF LANDS DONATED.

169

Statement showing the number of acres of the public lands donated by Congress, the purposes for which donated, &c., in reply to resolution of the House of Representatives of January 30, 1854.

States and Territories.	Schools.	Universities.	Seats of government.	Salines.	Internal improvements, 1841.*	Roads.	Canals and Rivers.	Railroads.	Swamp lands.†	Deaf and dumb.	Individuals and companies.	Military services.	Aggregate.
Ohio.....	704,488	23,040	—	24,316	—	80,773	1,102,229	—	33,641	—	32,141	1,783,024	3,832,552
Indiana.....	650,317	23,040	2,560	23,040	—	170,923	1,439,379	—	1,890,227	—	843	1,322,336	4,821,824
Illinois.....	978,753	23,040	2,560	121,620	209,083	—	299,915	2,595,023	1,832,413	—	954	9,060,330	15,115,734
Missouri.....	1,199,139	23,040	5,560	46,080	500,000	—	—	2,442,240	2,178,716	—	—	2,288,323	8,080,098
Alabama.....	902,774	23,040	1,020	23,040	100,000	—	400,000	419,528	2,295	—	1,981	794,925	2,660,503
Mississippi.....	827,584	23,040	1,350	—	500,000	—	—	1,294,512	2,295	—	15,905	174,383	4,118,194
Louisiana.....	788,044	46,080	—	—	500,000	—	—	737,130	9,771,375	—	8,413	518,670	11,030,482
Michigan.....	1,007,307	46,080	13,200	46,080	500,000	—	750,000	—	6,788,125	—	4,080	1,108,003	10,322,965
Arkansas.....	888,460	46,080	10,600	46,080	500,000	—	—	2,140,200	8,690,017	—	139,366	1,645,373	14,153,076
Florida.....	908,503	46,080	6,240	46,080	500,000	—	—	—	2,065,603	—	32,114	291,400	3,916,022
Iowa.....	905,144	46,080	3,840	46,080	360,364	—	\$85,078	—	71,938	—	18,227	4,523,573	6,099,980
Wisconsin.....	258,648	46,080	6,400	—	500,000	—	500,373	—	1,259,269	—	5,706	2,467,407	5,673,336
California.....	6,719,224	46,080	6,400	—	—	—	\$340,000	—	No return.	—	—	108,520	7,371,804
Minnesota Ter.....	3,069,224	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,324,744
Oregon Ter.....	12,140,907	46,080	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,186,987
New Mexico Ter.....	7,493,130	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,493,120
Utah Ter.....	6,661,707	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,661,707
Connecticut.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	48,000,533	4,000,704	57,260	422,325	4,600,440	251,355	5,898,673	8,382,131	35,798,259	45,440	279,700	25,000,257	134,704,392

\* By the act of September 4, 1841, 500,000 acres of land were granted to each land State for purposes of internal improvement, provided that such States as had heretofore received grants for such purposes should, in addition, be entitled to select only so much as would make the above amount of 500,000. Ohio and Indiana having received more than that amount, were, of course, not entitled to any land under said act.

† Reported by State authorities and estimated.

‡ In part estimated.

§ Estimated.

|| Donations in Oregon not yet reported.

¶ Located principally in Alabama.

\*\* The vacant lands in Tennessee, amounting to 3,553,524 acres, were granted to the State, provided \$40,000, if the proceeds amounted to so much, be applied to establish and support a college.

†† Located principally in Florida.

*Public Lands.*

	Acres.	Acres.
Areas of land in States and Territories exclusive of water .....		1,391,490,320
Of which there has been surveyed up to June 30, 1853 .....	336,202,587	
And unsurveyed (estimated) .....	1,055,277,733	
Of the amount surveyed .....	336,202,587	
There has been offered for sale up to June 30, 1853 .....	316,278,804	
Leaving of the surveyed, unoffered for sale .....	19,923,783	
Of the amount offered for sale up to June 30, 1853 .....	316,278,804	
There has been sold to that date .....	103,197,356.35	
Land in the States yet undisposed of by the general government subject to entry June 30, 1853 .....		94,746,032
Amount of land in the States unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered lands, in June 30, 1853 .....		281,861,254
If lands in California be subtracted, it will leave .....		168,179,818
Areas of land in States and Territories exclusive of water .....		1,391,480,320
Which has been disposed of as follows—		
Sold up to June 30, 1853 .....	103,197,356.35	
Disposed of for schools, universities, &c. ....	49,416,435	
Disposed of for deaf and dumb asylums .....	44,971.11	
Disposed of for internal improvements .....	10,757,677.60	
For individuals and companies .....	279,792.07	
For seats of government and public buildings ..	50.860	
For military services .....	24,841,979.83	
Reserved for salines .....	422,325	
Reserved for benefit of Indians .....	3,400,725.53	
Reserved for companies, individuals, and corporations .....	8,955,383.75	
Confirmed private claims .....	8,923,903.21	
Swamp lands disposed of to States .....	35,798,254.66	
Railroads .....	6,024,573	
		252,114,237.11
Total unsold and unappropriated of offered and unoffered lands, June 30, 1853 .....		1,139,366.083

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, pages 44 and 45.]

## APPENDIX—B.

*Persons employed by the General Government in 1800.*

## Treasury Department:

Number employed in collecting the external revenue, such as port collectors, revenue captains and lieutenants, custom-house officers, &c. ....	1,257
Light-house keepers, inspectors, &c. ....	37
Number employed in the mint .....	10
Clerks in the department at Washington .....	70

Total number in Treasury Department .....

1,374

State Department, including diplomatic corps .....

112



PERSONS EMPLOYED BY GOVERNMENT, ETC.

171

Persons employed in Pension Office .....	37
Persons employed in Land Office.....	8
Persons employed in Indian Office.....	19
Purveyor of Public supplies.....	4
Total.....	68
War Department, exclusive of army .....	17
Navy Department, exclusive of navy .....	17
Judiciary.....	107
Post Office Department:	
Clerks at Washington, 10; deputy postmasters, 906; whole number employed in Post Office Department.....	916
Miscellaneous appointments .....	9
Whole number employed by general government .....	3,806

*Persons employed by the General Government in 1854.*

The Department of—	
Treasury .....	3,245
Post Office .....	30,480
Interior.....	707
War.....	232
Judiciary.....	238
Navy .....	263
State .....	256
Whole number of persons employed by general government, excluding army and navy.....	35,456

APPENDIX—C.

*Natives of the old States residing in the land States, as per census U. S. for 1850, with the natives of New-York specially therein resident.*

Where resident.	Number of white residents.	Natives of N. Y. resid- ing in the land States.	Native born population of each State.	Proportion of the natives of the old States residing in the land States to the native born population.
Alabama .....	151,915...	1,443...	420,032...	Over one-third.
Arkansas.....	26,787...	537...	160,345...	About one-sixth.
California.....	34,808...	10,160...	69,610...	About one-half.
Florida .....	21,875...	614...	45,320...	Nearly one-half.
Illinois.....	199,780...	67,180...	736,931...	About two-sevenths.
Indiana.....	179,242...	24,310...	931,392...	Nearly one-fifth.
Iowa .....	43,254...	8,134...	170,620...	About one-fourth.
Louisiana.....	30,527...	5,510...	205,921...	About one-seventh.
Michigan.....	182,618...	133,756...	341,591...	Over one-half.
Mississippi.....	79,366...	952...	291,114...	Over one-fourth.
Missouri.....	84,398...	5,040...	520,826...	Over one-sixth.
Ohio.....	508,672...	83,979...	1,757,556...	Nearly one-third.
Wisconsin.....	109,932...	68,595...	197,912...	Over one-half.
	1,653,174	410,210	5,849,170	More than one-fourth & less than one-third.

## Art. V.—RUSSIA AND THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE.

[Though we publish papers upon every side of great public questions, we beg to say, that our own sympathies, in the matter of Russia and the allied powers, are in accordance with the general public voice in this country—with neither particularly, with the former if at all.—Ed.]

THE importance of free shipping on the Danube has again, by the high price of breadstuffs in most European States, proved the necessity of a definitive regulation for the interest of the world's intercourse. The complaints of Russia's oppressions, and intrigues of a selfish character, have during a long time been heard, but a closer examination of the same will not be out of place.

The struggles of Russia to bring the Danubian trade under her sway began in 1774, and have been continued until the time of the treaty of Balta Liman, in 1819. By the acquisition of Bessarabia, she attained the dominion over the left bank, from the coast of the Black Sea to the mouth of the Pruth. The final act was, that she thus obtained also the Danubian deltas, including the three principal mouths, whereby the decision of the Vienna treaty of 1813, "that the Danube should be a free-trading river for *all* nations," became an illusion. Austria's commerce on the Black Sea submitted itself to the Russian yoke, by permitting Russia (nominally for improvement of the navigation) to levy a tax on all vessels passing the Sulina mouth. The worst event, however, was that clause in the treaty of 1829, by which Russia was empowered to establish a quarantine, not only at the Danubian mouths, but also between Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Thus the control of its commercial and travelling intercourse fell into the hands of the Muscovites!

Goods which have already paid the entrance duty in Turkey cannot be imported into the Danubian Principalities unless they have been again taxed. Vessels which will not run the risk of being sent to Odessa, to lie there forty days in quarantine, or in Galatz even sixty-five days, are compelled to pay to the Russian Consuls fees of upwards of £100 for certificates of health, etc., no matter even if they are Turkish, and therefore in their own ports. Neither seals nor certificates of other consuls are respected. The English shipowners lose by the Danubian quarantine, annually, £18,000, although their vessels do not touch any Russian harbor at all.

Besides, this quarantine is practised by a barbarism unheard of in other countries. All sails are taken down, to be fumigated below in the steerage, while all persons on board are forced to remain, in spite of all eventual inclemency of weather, twenty-four hours on deck. Then they must undress themselves to

nudity, even woman not excepted, to put on in the steerage other fumigated clothes. It is of no importance whether there have been any cases of cholera at all in Turkey; and the partiality is so great, that vessels which have cleared at Constantinople with certificates of health, have to quarantine at Odessa only four days; in a Danubian port, however, fourteen days.

The captain of an English ship, who waited last year at Galatz, with a full and rich cargo, not less than sixty-five days, paid the following costs:—

For nine persons, tax .....	135 piasters.
Attest .....	2½ "
Watch on board .....	435 "
Watch at cleansing the ship .....	150 "
Hire of a boat for the Inspector .....	90 "
Total .....	812½ "

During the time of the Turkish Regiment, the Danubian mouth had sixteen to eighteen feet depth of water, which depth was very simply preserved by the vessels dragging iron rakes after them. Under the Russian sway, it has, however, only nine feet. Contrary to the above-mentioned treaty, Russia has not only entirely neglected to dredge, but even prevents others from doing so. By these machinations, the vessels are compelled to take in their cargoes on the other side of the bar, in a dangerous place, and that only by means of *Russian lighters*. Often the costs amount to more than £800.

All these violations of treaties are caused by the selfish design of Russia to fetter the commerce of Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Danubian Principalities, and to throw the whole trade into Russian ports. To this fact alone it is also to be attributed, that in Odessa, notwithstanding the great disorders there, the freight of a quarter of wheat to England is nearly three shillings less than in Galatz.

The emancipation of the Danubian mouths from the Russian usurpation is not specially a Turkish, but is considered as an European question, which must now be decided. In the worst case, it is proposed to dig a canal from Hirsova to Kurtendsi, to withdraw the Danubian navigation from the Russian influence, whereby incalculable advantages for commercial intercourse would be gained.

#### Art. VI.—THE NORTH, THE SOUTH, AND THE UNION.\*

It was, in the opinion of Bacon, fit to be recorded amongst "the articles of honor," to which the reign of James was entitled,

\* Address, upon the equalization of Federal Sections, delivered before the Maryland Institute. Furnished in manuscript by the author.

that "England had now first gotten a lot, or portion, in the New World, by her plantation in Virginia, and the Summer Isles;" "and," adds the philosopher, "certain it is with the kingdoms on earth, as it is in the kingdom of heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard seed produces a great tree. Who can tell?" This scriptural metaphor constitutes almost the only allusion to the New World which occurs in the varied and voluminous works of one who was, in some respects, the wisest, and, in others, the weakest, reasoner of his age. To show how prophetic was this brief, yet comprehensive allusion, we quote the beautiful metaphor from the Scriptures: "Whereunto shall we liken the Kingdom of Heaven, and with what comparison shall it be likened unto? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which when it is sown in the earth is less than all the seeds that be in the earth; but, when it is sown, it groweth up and becomes a tree, greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the fowls of the air may come and lodge in the branches thereof, and under the shadow thereof." What description could more forcibly express the progress of this great nation, or figure to the mind more beautifully the immigrant millions which have, like wearied sea-birds, sought the shelter of that tree, which stretches its branches to protect mankind? Whilst Europe was framing an orthodox faith, and establishing an uniform rule—when England swept the seas, and France bowed beneath the most splendid sceptre that was ever swayed over a people, entranced by pleasure, and subdued by power—whilst Holland, like Carthage, taught that commercial wealth and a cordial union were a match for absolute rule and extended territory—whilst Spain wasted the treasure of the Indies, and Italy wielded the prestige of the Church—when the renowned Doria struck for the freedom of the seas and cities, and the resolute Van Tromp battled with Boscawen and Hood, the gallant successors of Hawkins and Drake—when Cromwell rose and ruled, with a power and patriotism which all the envy of his successors had been unable to obscure—that seed was planted on the sands of the Chesapeake and the granite of Plymouth. It grew and flourished without the aid of courts, or the comment of schools, and no man regarded it as the germ of a power superior to that which planted it. Were this the essay of a political philosopher, instead of the argument of the statician, how appropriate to show the folly with which the weak-eyed wisdom of the world would peer into the darkness with which God has enveloped the future! How should we smile to compare the immense results anticipated from a royal command, or a doctrinal admission, with the steady increase of that seed, growing under the sunshine and showers of God in that distant wilderness! When one haughty favorite would have involved his country in war for implied disrespect



of etiquette, or another for a presumptuous and wicked love of a foreign queen, that seed still grew. When royal weakness granted provinces to obsequious courtiers, or bestowed kingdoms as a *trousseau* upon some favorite bride—or when they abandoned to the just vengeance of the people the ministers who had dared death to extend the prerogative of the throne—that seed still grew. When the people of God, driven from his worship, sang his praises on a barren moor, or in the dark prison, or under the cruel torture—when a sanguinary priesthood tried to extinguish a heresy by exterminating those who professed it, by a massacre more cruel than that of Herod, because more comprehensive, pretending to serve God by violating the faith of a solemn covenant—that seed still grew. When princely malévolence was satiated at Culloden, and in the Vaudois, and in the Vendée, and in dismembered Poland—this seed not only grew, with the aid of every evil whom tyranny had sent to aid in its culture, but it began to shoot out its great branches, and the persecuted and afflicted from every part of the earth flocked to, and lodged beneath its shelter. And at Bunker Hill, and at Yorktown, and New-Orleans, and on the broad, restless waves of the free ocean, and within the eternal roar of that mighty cataract which God pours from the hollow of his hand, the roots of this tree have been nurtured by the most acceptable moisture—the mingled blood of triumphant freemen and defeated foes. And now it has vindicated the words of the philosopher, and become a “great tree.” But the luxuriance with which the Union of the States has grown has caused the only well-founded apprehension that it may not continue. *Roma ruit suis viribus.* It is not the danger of foreign power, but of domestic dissension, which threatens its perpetuity. Although political negotiations may have adjusted the terms upon which the sectional relations of our country are to be conducted, it is plain that no framework of words can be so skilfully constructed as to form a perfect and perpetual union, unless it shall be based upon the confidence and common interest of those who have adopted it. No form of government, however perfect its theory, can bind the American people, if it is believed to contain any alloy of injustice. They consider equality the first term of amity, and cannot understand how friendship can exist between power and dependence. There can be no impropriety, therefore, in speaking of the sectional jealousies which exist. They constitute an historical fact. Nor is it necessary here to examine the causes of this fact. It may have been occasioned by a diversity of law or social usage, or it may have arisen from that not uncommon animosity between those who are obliged to wrest from reluctant nature the fruits she has gratuitously bestowed upon others, and those who rely upon a generous soil and a genial sky, generally bestowed as a

heritage upon the improvident favorite, I cannot say. But such animosity is natural, and every patriot should strive to render the sectional relations more harmonious, and to fuse into a solid amalgam interests which, though dissimilar, need not therefore be inimical.

It may be assumed that the method of effecting this important object cannot be copied from books, or borrowed from usage. In other days and other countries, political harmony has been based upon passive obedience, or temporary compact. The federal alliances of Macedon, or Sparta—the European leagues of a later day, were all founded upon some temporary coincidence of interest, or some common sense of danger. Wherever the cement of compulsory co-operation has lost its strength, the transient structure has crumbled and fallen. It may then have been compressed into unity by the iron grasp of a powerful despot. Thus the national aggregations which were concentrated under Alexander, or Peter, or Ferdinand, or Charles, evinced all the incongruity and weakness of all composite formations. They could neither endure the superior force of patriotism, nor the contractile rigor of external power. There was no principle of permanent concentration amongst such materials. From these causes a great part of Europe and Asia would as certainly avail themselves of any foreign interposition, or any suspension of domestic authority, as the inmates of a prison of any accident which should give them freedom.\* England and Holland have, it is true, adopted systems more congenial with human rights. Their governments depend somewhat upon the consent of the governed. They recognize, in some degree, the wisdom of cultivating the affections and uniting the interests of their citizens. Still, England has but partially appreciated the true principles of union, when she has to inclose a member of her confederacy within a ring fence of bayonets.

The circumstances under which the American Union was formed require the application of a peculiar doctrine to preserve it. That Union was the result of a voluntary agreement amongst sovereign States. Its perpetuity must be the result of justice and forbearance. The inherent power of the people cannot be restrained by absolute rule. If, then, there exists an admitted dissonance between the two great sections of the Union, occupying the care, and exciting the apprehensions of statesmen, it becomes a duty to obviate that dissonance, and remove the sole obstacle to the perpetuity of the Union.

The American people may be said to have prescribed, as a moral condition upon which they will confer the honor of their residence within any State or section, that there shall be provided

\* The present state of Greece, Wallachia, the Montenegrins, and Circassia, attests the correctness of this opinion.

for them, 1st, certain general rules of free suffrage, and practical equality; 2d, a proper standard of religious and intellectual instruction; 3d, adequate opportunity to turn their capital or industry to account in any vocation. To these must be added a social welcome, with enlarged tolerance. To these specific and invariable conditions all States contending for this great element of prosperity must conform their institutions. Accordingly, we find the States vying amongst themselves in the liberality of their inducements; and this liberality is necessary, not only to attract the citizens of other countries, but to retain their own. It is thus that constitutional restrictions have been modified—schools of learning endowed—commercial intercourse opened with other countries—mechanical employment encouraged—the products of agriculture increased by scientific stimulants, and their value enlarged by facilities of transportation, and access to new markets.

These measures perfected, the balance of popular power will ultimately rest with that section which possesses the highest social and climatic advantages. But when this development shall have reached perfection, neither section can exercise any dangerous control over the other, for physical and industrial improvement, enlarged intercourse, and a complication of social and commercial relations, will have grown up. There will be such an independent strength in each member of the confederacy, as to render any idea of employing the power of a preponderant section to enforce an arbitrary policy preposterous.

Let us contribute somewhat to this important result, by examining the causes of sectional jealousy, and offer our counsels as to the best manner of removing them.

Were the present relations between the sections to continue, or were they left to regulate themselves by the natural ratio of progress, we should have no anxiety as to results. But the South has, unfortunately, relied upon its own peculiar productions, as adequate to purchase all other subjects and services needed. It has underrated, nay even disparaged, the industrial pursuits of other countries. With a careless generosity, perhaps characteristic of its clime, it has abandoned to the Northern sections certain sources of prosperity which it did not itself care to employ. The carrying trade of its great staples was thus given up. The control of the foreign and domestic exchanges arising from the exportation naturally accompanied it, as also the importation of so much of its representative values as might be required for Southern consumption. The production of much of the provisions required for the culture of the Southern staples was committed to the West, whilst the great interest of manufactures having been even rendered unpopular by its connection with an obnoxious measure of Federal

taxation, was proscribed as immoral, and otherwise injurious in its social tendencies. When there is added to this improvident concession of these industrial advantages, the development arising from works of internal intercourse, of which the Northern section had a monopoly for more than a quarter of a century, it cannot be surprising that the Northern States should have surpassed the South in absolute political power, and almost to equal, in the aggregate result of its varied industrial resources, the power of the South arising from the positive value of its staples.

The abandonment of these profitable pursuits to the Northern and Western sections was accompanied with another signal result, to which we have referred. The success of manufactures and commerce depends upon facilities of interior communication. The Northern section could not look to a barren soil or a rigorous sky for favor, but it tasked its enterprise to supply those defects. The Erie Canal opened a conduit to the Lakes. A kindred system of railroads occupied the wilderness. People congregated. New States were organized. Internal commerce developed. All these brought an accession of numbers; and, in common gratitude and common sense, the political power resulting from these numbers was added to that of the parent States, from whose enterprise it had sprung. Some Southern statesmen unconsciously strengthened this preponderance of power, by inveighing against the vices of manufactures, the mercenary speculations of commerce—the alleged injustice of taxing one section to supply the natural needs of another. Perhaps they adopted too readily the industrial theories of Hobbes, Sir Thomas More, and of the pastoral poets generally. Perhaps they increased this northern preponderance, by lauding the superior nature of those engaged exclusively in agriculture, by invoking the authority of history to show the high and chivalrous jealousy with which slaveholding States have ever regarded civil liberty.

When population is determined by inducement—when the energies of one section have been employed to offer those inducements, and those of another for a long time employed to oppose their adoption—the one section has naturally grown in all the elements of constitutional power, and the other has only acquired that which results from natural increase. This is precisely the cause of the political inequality of sections. And this inequality, inevitable under the comparative systems of moral and physical development in the North, and the reliance upon abstract principles and constitutional remedies in the South, has been the cause of the sectional jealousy now dividing us. In stating the causes, we have indicated the remedial system which will correct it.

There is an incident of the system of internal communication not adverted to as an original inducement to construct that sys-



tem, but now become a result, entering not merely into commercial advantages, but capable of disturbing the sectional equilibrium, and thus embarrassing the gradual progress to equality which might have been expected from the adoption by the South of the Northern methods of development. This new and powerful element of political power is foreign immigration.

It has been shown that the Republic owes its existence to original immigration. The continued influx of this element requires therefore that we should consider, 1st, The propriety of its further encouragement. 2nd, The manner in which it may be invited, and conducted into the interior. In attracting to that section of the country which we have indicated most requires an immediate increase of this element of power, I feel the difficulties which surround the subject. I feel that whilst there may be an ignorance of the social condition and industrial inducements of the South upon the one hand, there is an apprehension founded in equal error on the other. These errors cannot be disabused by any argument of mine, but they will disappear before the inevitable intimacy which an enlarged intercourse will occasion. From the causes alluded to, there is no American population which has the same reverence for the opinions and institutions of the past, as that of the Southern States. Content with their condition, they have heretofore scarcely felt their dependence upon others.

With others, these institutions and opinions have been alike hereditary. In the Southern Atlantic States may be occasionally heard the idiom of Yorkshire, the provincialisms of Scotland, or some surviving superstition of the common law. Their prejudice against foreigners is based, perhaps, upon the national antipathy of their forefathers. The same prejudice has extended to the acquisition of territory. The irruption of foreigners—myriads fresh from the taskmasters of despotism—brings back the ravages of the Huns and Slavonians, of the successive subjugation of the Roman, Dane, and Norman. It is feared that under the influence of these aliens to our language, institutions, and interests, our form of government may fall a victim to venality and ignorance. The seeds of despotism may be transplanted from the Old World to the New; and, more particularly, that foreigners animated with ideas of liberty and equality, cannot well understand how a modification of human rights should depend upon a modification of human color. Such are the prejudices with which the Southern Atlantic States regard the immigration of foreigners. I shall contend, however, that the introduction of population from the Rhine, the Netherlands, from England, Ireland, and France, may be encouraged, not only with safety to the South, but as one means by which its political independence may be rapidly established. The great problem

consists in reconciling the abstract opinions of mankind with their positive interests. But as human opinion adapts itself to all local and climatic conditions, this reconciliation is generally effected by maintaining the interests and relinquishing the opinions.

English publicists have affirmed that the ocean was, in its nature, incapable of being reduced under the dominion of any people, yet England has claimed supremacy over the ocean. The southern portion of this continent was claimed as an appendage to the Papal See. Its mines were adjudged crown treasures for Gospel diffusion. Its natives were enslaved with the same holy motives. All this injustice was perpetrated in the name of religion.

Political opinion has still less pretensions to morality. It is but the reflection of sectional interest, and invariably takes its hues from the subject on which it rests.

The institution of slavery has been shown by experiment indispensable to the production of certain staples which the civilized world requires, and which can be only grown in a southern climate. The civilized world has therefore sent one portion of its people to conduct this department of supply. It establishes, then, the system of predial and continuous labor. The physical constitution in the laborer is adapted to the climatic peculiarities.

With these indispensable conditions to the production of Southern staples, an immigrant population sees at once the propriety of maintaining the sanitary relation, just as the original immigrant population saw the necessity of adopting it. Nor is there any antagonism between the white and slave operatives, because there is abundant territory within the same region, affording abundant field for the production of the stock and provisions which the staple grower does not produce, because his labor may be more profitably employed. The sugar estates and cotton plantations of the South produce neither stock nor provisions in sufficient abundance for their own supply; but the farmer of Illinois or Indiana finds amongst them a better market for his horses, mules, or provisions, than he could in Liverpool. Every man in a slaveholding community who has corn or meat to sell, or who can make or mend any implement, or a fabric, has a market at home for the produce of his industry; for the planter who purchases, having preferred to devote his labor to the production of an export staple, has the money to pay for his purchases: for a similar reason, there has always been the most friendly relation between those who employ slave labor and those living in the same community who do not. This is contrary to the theory that free labor is disreputable in a slaveholding community. But it is true. These relations will be rendered more intimate by the material improvement now in progress.

The metals and minerals of the interior are sent for consumption into those sections of the slave States where the staples are exclusively produced. Then the practical wisdom of the country will see that it is better to import the mechanical skill and capital into the region which combines provisions, water-power, raw material and consumption, than to transport the principal elements of manufacture to the capital and skill. The success of American manufactures was founded upon the recognition of this principle, and when the physical obstacles to access and intercourse shall have been removed, the same principle will transfer so much manufactures, skill, and capital into the South as shall be necessary for its purposes. Nor will the prejudice against slavery any more prevent the immigration of free labor than it has done heretofore.

The political consequence which will result is obvious. The interest of the producer and customer will be mutual. If one interest be molested, the other will fly to its defence. The institution which makes a market for the producer of provisions is his institution. The tendency of this system is to establish within each State that relation between the industrial and staple growing interests which has been at last the great *menstruum* to consolidate the Union. In this connection, it may be observed that it has been always difficult to foster a sectional hostility between the provision States, upon the Upper Mississippi, and the planting States which consume their products, from the joint influence of intercourse and interest.

But free labor introduced in the South need not be confined to the production of provisions. On the contrary, there is a good deal of cotton and tobacco made by small planters who employ no slaves. Besides, free labor in the South will be employed in commerce and in those aggregations of people that commerce engenders. This is shown by the immense northern immigration into New-Orleans, which neither the mortality of the climate nor the loathing of slavery has been able to prevent. Upon the practical doctrine which we have stated, there will be an intimate reciprocity between the free labor which supplies the mechanical, agricultural and commercial community, and the slave labor which furnishes a market for them; and in the hour when political insanity shall threaten the safety of the South, as the dissonant opinions of the various Christian Churches meet in the same ranks for the defence of a common country, so will those who differ only in their ability or inclination to employ a particular kind of labor unite cordially in the defence of the integrity of the section to which they belong. Such is the strength of this nationality, that slaveholding communities have never suffered weakness from servile revolution, in time of foreign invasion. The slaves of Rome fought bravely against the African in-

vader; nor did the Helots abandon their cruel masters; the slaveholding colonies were amongst the first to resist British aggression, and though their slaves were offered freedom by the enemy, yet comparatively few availed themselves of the invitation. A good many were, it is true, kidnapped.

From the reasoning employed, we think it may be admitted that the immigrant population adopted into the Southern States will never prove incendiaries. They will come with kindly motives. They will not reward with perfidy those who have erected the fabric and spread the feast of freedom. They will take the country for better or worse, and devote their strong arms to its defence or to its development. Some of their opinions will be fallible, but they will be honest. Their manners will not be like our own, but they will rapidly adapt themselves to the spirit of our institutions. Their children will be Americans; and the current of immigrant opinion, like that of the turbid Mississippi, will be soon purified by the republican ocean that receives it.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to the aid which this country has received from foreign immigrants at a most critical period of its history. The blood of Kosciusko, De Kalb, and their humble followers has, at least, consecrated the battle-grounds of the South from the charge of treason against her interests.

Indeed, there can be no danger that the influence of free labor will be thrown against the South, whether its employment be domestic or sectional. The non-slaveholder knows that he is not morally responsible for the existence of slavery. He is not, therefore, under any obligation to abolish it. He will, therefore, be content to sell what he has for market at a good price, and he will never feel bound to unite with those who prefer the emancipation of the negro to a political association with his master.

The diversification of labor is indispensable to the welfare of a State. Let us see, then, what would be the effect upon slave labor of emancipating three millions of slaves. It would be followed by their voluntary or forcible deportation. As free citizens of the United States, the negro would prefer an asylum among those to whom he had been indebted for his freedom. Fear, rage, prejudice, would drive him from the South; hope and persuasion would woo them to the North. We will trace the effect of this black exodus upon free labor, employed in reciprocal production. A gross population of three millions would afford one million capable of immediate employment, the remainder being women, children, and aged not trained to mechanical pursuits, and thus, to a great extent, unproductive. Their support would be charged upon those capable of labor. The first obvious effect of this exodus, then, would be the withdrawal of a greater or less number of persons theretofore employed in the production

labors  
wanted  
1860  
→



of reciprocals, and thus employment in the production of competing products. This would diminish the annual production of staples, valued at perhaps one hundred and fifty millions. This would affect the domestic supply of the great manufacturing staple, estimated to be worth more than thirty millions. Of course its price would be enhanced. It would affect the commercial, manufacturing, and social interests of the whole North. Is there any man who labors in the North who is not interested in this result? Is it the hewer of ice or of granite? The man who makes the shoe, or the girl who pastes the lining? The mariner who fills the lamp, or the artisan who makes the lamp? The jeweller whose costly ornaments deck the brow of the Southern maiden, or the thrifty farmer who whittles in the long winter's evening the axe-helve for the Southern slave? Who is amongst these operators that will not feel the effects of abolition? The swarthy forgerman, the cotton-spinner, draymen, porters, sailors, servants—all those who follow those callings which civilization imposes upon industry, will all sympathize, for they will all suffer. But the direct repudiation of two thousand millions of value would be a decree of desolation. This discharge from labor, and elevation to equality on the part of the slave, would produce a social convulsion. We might trace further the inevitable consequences upon free labor. The immigrant negroes must have support. They know nothing except the hardest work or menial service. They will seek relief from starvation by working at the lowest wages. Driven to labor for their support, they will seek little more. The impulses of animal and individual appetite appeased, they will not toil for the support or mental improvement of their families. The instinctive enmities of race will be inflamed by the unsought competition for sustenance. The negroes will be driven in herds to their own infected quarters, and will live to be the gypsies and lazzaroni of Europe.

Let anyone weigh for himself the probabilities of these two results. It is plain to us that both must inevitably follow. We have said nothing of a civil war, in which the conqueror reigns over desolation. Nothing of a second confederacy, under which the manufacturing States lose the greatest and most growing home market in the world. I have taken a single view of abolition for but one purpose: to show the harmony between slave and free labor, whether they coexist in the same community, or are engaged in the creation of reciprocating products. We do not say that the South, depopulated by such a calamity as we have imagined, might not ultimately be resettled by another population. It might be; but the present generation would have perished. There would have been a terrible interregnum in its progress. We will not pursue the consequences—our argument is concluded.

*all  
done  
1850*

We have thus endeavored to disabuse the mind of two errors. The one, the danger of introducing free labor into the vast area of the Southern section; the other, the antagonisms between slave labor and that of intelligent freemen engaged in reciprocating industry.

But if there be danger from the encouragement of immigration into the Southern section, how much more must it become a source of apprehension, when a people who neither speak the language, nor appreciate our social condition, pass by immense armies into a distant and a separate part of the confederacy? How will it be possible that the compromises of the Constitution can be so well maintained as if the association of that immigrant population were more intimate, and the intercourse with every part of the Union more free? Let us consider the process by which new States are and may be manufactured, by introducing the foreign element. A parallelogram of public lands is marked off, a line of immigrant vessels connects with a train of packet boats, and the population of Germany, or of Ireland, is remitted with the same certainty as any other products of those countries. The aggregation of even a few months authorizes the organization of a State, and a new member contributes to overthrow, or at least to disturb the sectional balance. These immense aggregations of numbers are translated at once into their proper symbols of political power, and electoral votes and federal representatives proclaim at once the legitimate and constitutional influence to which immigrant population is entitled. Why then should not the Southern States, and the Southern ports, which need skill, capital, and numbers, for the subjugation of the immense empire still to be reclaimed from the wild beast and the savage—for employing the vast power of their streams—for realizing the vast wealth of their mines—for rendering available the broad waters and deep harbors which invite the prows of commerce—why should they not open an organized system of invitation, not only to the foreigner of every land, but to their fellow-citizens of other States? Let them open lines of intercommunication, from the sea-board to the Sierras, and within a very few years, not only shall they have secured power, and riches, and numbers, but the problem of a perpetual and an impregnable Union will be placed beyond question or cavil, and the grain of mustard seed, planted by the providence of God, shall stand a lofty and magnificent tree, its roots penetrating and spreading through a continent, its branches sheltering the unprotected of every nation, and its fruits going abroad through the world for the "healing of nations."

## ART. VII.—VOYAGE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

THE voyager enters the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar, which form the natural division between the continents of Europe and Africa. The average width of this passage is about twelve miles. Gibraltar is the original Mons Calpe of the Romans. It is situated in about 36 degrees north latitude, and about 5 degrees and 30 minutes east from Greenwich. The elevation is oblong in form, running in a direction nearly north and south. The extremities are more elevated than the centre. The rock is near seven miles in circumference, and forms a promontory near three miles in length. In a work written by Mr. Shroeder, published in 1846, it is thus described with striking accuracy:—"His forehead, high and massive, rests upon the fore-paws, doggedly overlooking the low beach which, Nahant-like, connects it with Spain; and the bristling mane and back are the rock outline against the sky. The formidable monster is three miles from the forehead and nose to the tip of the tail, and of the exact proportions in height and breadth of a well-shaped lion. Against his left ribs are a brood of houses, which nestle under his protection, and are washed by the waves of the bay." No doubt this promontory was the site of a town of considerable strength, from very early times. It is formed by nature to command the entrance into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic, and the Bay of Gibraltar affords quite a safe and commodious harbor for shipping. The present town and fortress derive their name and existence from the Moors, who invaded the Peninsula in the eighth century. The prominent men of our country are well known by representation and character to her Majesty's officers, stationed here, who are a class of intelligent and courteous gentlemen, and a letter of introduction from this country will invariably insure their favorable attentions and consideration. Their life is quite monotonous, and the arrival of distinguished strangers is viewed as a happy occasion to vary their accustomed thread of life, with the civilities of social-intercourse, which they know so well how to render. The visitor from the United States will be greatly disappointed in finding that agriculture has not progressed in proportion to the antiquity of the settlements, or to the natural capabilities of the country here belonging to Spain. An American will look upon it with wonder. The striking difference between even the frontier portion of this country and that of the possessions of Spain, that lie contiguous to the rock, in agricultural advancement, calls forth the instant attention and observation of the beholder from the United States. There seems to lie upon the country an incubus, restraining enterprise and industry, and paralyzing the moral and physical energies.

Put a load upon a man's heart, and his hearth soon becomes desolate and forbidden. There are very many portions of this country with scarcely greater natural advantages than are possessed by this region that are far in advance of it in the elements that conduce to man's happiness and physical comfort. The cork groves in the vicinity of Gibraltar are sure to attract the attention of the visitor, and are picturesque in a high degree, extending over a vast plain, interlapping their branches, and commingling their foliage of dark green. They lie within the territory of Spain, and afford one of the most attractive objects of curiosity. It is not always with perfect impunity that they can be visited. Visitors are regarded with suspicion, which detracts greatly from the pleasure of an excursion to these woods. Close questioning is always the consequence of an approach to the "line;" unpleasant, annoying apprehensions are entertained, and the assault of robbers not unfrequent. The cork-tree is the *Quercus Suber* of botanists, and its bark, the cork, is not valuable until the twelfth or fourteenth year of its growth. It is then taken off in strips, and should not be molested again until the tree is supplied with the growth of three years. At one time it was supposed to be necessary that the tree should be stripped once in three years, to preserve it from decay. This bark and many of its useful purposes were known to the Greeks and Romans, and by the latter especially, applied to many advantageous purposes. It was used by them for floats for fishing-nets, buoys, soles for shoes, or sandals, &c. By others of the nations of antiquity, it was used as a safeguard from drowning, and in the construction of coffins.

Malaga, upon the coast of Spain, in the province of Grenada, is a place of considerable interest. It is a Moorish town, and like all Moorish towns, its streets are narrow and extremely inconvenient. It is some two hundred and thirty miles south of Madrid. The hill of St. Christopher, formerly called Gibralfaro, is the site of an ancient castle, well worthy an examination. It was formerly a Roman temple, devoted to heathen worship. But the greatest object of curiosity to travellers in Malaga, as its wine and fruits are its greatest enjoyment, is the Cathedral, presenting now the united styles of both Roman and Gothic architecture. The latest account that we have seen of Malaga, and of its present condition, and of its many curiosities, may be found in the "Cruise of the North Star," (the Vanderbilt excursion,) written with classic ease and purity of style by the Rev. Dr. Choules, of Boston. The reader will do well to consult this very interesting book of travels, where he may be certain to find much entertaining and instructive information; in style and mode of painting, extremely engaging. It is written in that freedom from conceits and forced witticisms, and in that



direct earnestness of manner that we so seldom find in the writings of modern travellers. Speaking of the Cathedral, Mr. Choules says, "it was begun by Philip II., in 1538, and only finished in 1719. The style is not good; it wants unity. It is intended for Grecian, and has a bold façade between two dwarf towers. The interior is very rich, and yet not in keeping. The choir has good carved work, and the roof is richly adorned with oak and chestnut carvings. The pulpit is very fine, and of reddish marble. I noticed several pictures, but the light was bad. A Madonna struck me as good. The choristers were preparing vespers, and a dirty-looking set of children they were." This choir, of which Mr. Choules speaks, is so remarkable that it has been called the eighth wonder of the world. This Cathedral is said to be as large as St. Paul's in London. Here are to be seen the works of the celebrated Alonzo Cano, and those of his student, the no less celebrated Pedro de Mina. The picture of the Virgin in Heaven, with the infant Saviour in her arms, with angels adoring, is supposed to be equal to the best of his preceptor's. Malaga, like many other of the cities situated upon the coast of this inland sea, has been visited by malignant epidemics, although its general healthfulness is now proverbial. The population, consisting of 75,000, was reduced in one year (1804) from this cause, to less than 53,000. The Bay of Malaga, although inferior to that of Carthage, is, nevertheless, deserving the eulogies that are bestowed upon it. The largest ships may ride in safety in water of sufficient depth, at all seasons, close to the town. The soil of the country is fertile, and the climate pleasant. Here are figs, grapes, almonds, lemons, olives, &c., and cotton was cultivated here before America was discovered. Mr. Choules says that here is the "first burial-place granted to Protestants in Spain." His description of this place is quite interesting. "Having," says he, "received in the morning an invitation to visit the vineyard of a wealthy Spanish gentleman, we took carriages and drove some three miles into the country. The vehicles hired were caleches, and held four persons. Besides several of these, we had a gig that held two, and the driver sat on the side. O how much of amusement would that procession have created in Broadway! I did not imagine that such carriages and such drivers could be obtained in such a city as Malaga. The man who drove one caleche positively resembled a baboon. He might have been an importation from Abyla, the ape's mountain. His face was the most shrivelled-up affair I ever saw—of a tawney-red color, with an awful grin—whilst his arms and legs were in perpetual spasmodic motion. The harnesses were exceedingly rude. The head-stalls run down to an iron nose-piece of semicircular form, half an inch wide, strapped over the nose, and having in it two rings; from the

outside one of which a rein passes to the driver, and from the inside one of which a rein is attached to the corresponding ring of a mate in a double team. This nose-piece answers the purpose of a bit. The team is guided by single reins. Through the pole, about a foot from its outer end, is an iron pin projecting its iron extremities some four or five inches; outside this pin is a layer of three or four strands of half-inch rope, folded round, and then twisted together, so as to bring it snugly against the backing-pin, and thence separated to run through supports on the collar, and thence to large rings in the breeching, which is of leather, and three inches wide.

Our ride out of the city was very pleasant; but we were jolted over the worst road I ever travelled, leaving Welsh ones with a character of comparative goodness. We passed an aqueduct, and here for the first time saw the prickly pear in its gigantic form, making an impenetrable boundary hedge. It was now covered with its yellow fruit, which we did not think as palatable as did the urchins of Malaga, who were munching it at every corner. We now realized that we were in a tropical climate, for on every side we saw the agave or American aloe, and in several instances had the gratification of looking at its towering, spear-like blossom. A ride of about three or four miles brought us to the charming habitation of Edward Delius, Esq., a merchant of Malaga. The name of this estate is, I think, Tutinos. The house is an elegant summer residence, and the grounds immediately around it were laid out with much taste. I perfectly revelled in the show of geraniums, myrtles, ranunculuses and oleanders. At every turn we took in these grounds, we met with orange and lemon trees in full blossom, and the fig in several varieties. The vineyard occupies about fifty acres; and here we found the delicious muscatel just ripening, and picked its noble clusters from the scrubby vines. The prospect of the city from these grounds is very fine; and, as the Cathedral loomed up in the evening sky, and beyond it were the blue waters of the Mediterranean, and the dark Moorish castle and its battlements frowning over all around, we thought that we could spend more time with our kind host very agreeably.

In walking to our carriage, I observed that Mr. Delius had some grown cattle on his place, and they looked in good condition. On our return we rode through the Alameda, which is well shaded by fine trees, and under which the pretty women were using their fans most bewitchingly. This spot is adorned with statuary and fountains. We walked through the Zacatin, a sort of bazaar. It has some good shops, and the buildings are supported by columns. We resumed our carriages, and drove round the mole, and had a fine view of the fine Moorish castles Gibralfero and the ruins of Alcazaba, which crown the over-

hanging mountain. The soldiers were just marching up the zig-zag road, to relieve guard for the night. The costume of the muleteers, who came into town with mules and asses, and are numerous, is very picturesque. The gay handkerchiefs, and richly-buttoned jackets and heavy leather leggings, make quite a figure, and Jose Cubero has immortalized them in his capital statuettes. No place have I seen to which the approach is more impressive than Malaga. The background of mountains is superb, and the outline of the city at the water-edge is very pleasant. No winter is experienced at this place, and the air is balmy. We all thought that we had never breathed more freely than while anchored in this charming harbor; and I really think our sympathies with those who suffer from quarantine will always be abated, in consequence of our delightful recollections of the days of our embargo off Malaga. This harbor can receive four hundred merchantmen and twenty ships of the line, and is accessible in all winds, and affords complete shelter to shipping. Malaga is in 37 degrees north latitude, and four degrees west from Greenwich.

Coasting eastwardly, the traveller will soon arrive at Carthage, or New Carthage, as the Romans designate it. This point is a little northward of Malaga, and less than a degree westward of London. It possesses one of the safest harbors on the coast of the Mediterranean, and has a population of from thirty to thirty-five thousand. This place was founded by Asdrubal during the first half-century after the founding of the Roman empire. The name of Carthage was given it by the Romans, and was intended to rival the great African capital. It was destroyed by the Vandals about 425 years after its foundation, and rebuilt by Philip II. The celebrated Genoese navigator, Andrew Doria, is reported to have said that there were but three good ports—viz., "June, July, and Carthage." This harbor has in its outline the figure of a heart, and is formed by the hand of nature. Anciently, diamonds, rubies, amethysts, and other precious stones were found along the coast in this vicinity. There were two silver mines, but they have become exhausted. The present population is not more than half what it was in the days of its prosperity. The people are hospitable, and strangers are well regarded and well entertained. Visitors have been variously impressed with the city. Swinburne says that he could scarcely imagine any place so dull as Carthage, and that, "with the exception of the wretched comedy and the coffee-houses, there is not the least life or amusement going on." A French traveller gives a different account. He says, that Carthage is distinguished by affability, society, amusements, and pleasures."

Voyaging northwardly along the coast of Valencia, the traveller passes in full view of the Balearic Isles Ivica, Majorca, Minorca. "All along its shores," says Mr. Choules, speaking of Ivica, "we observed watch-towers on the chief headlands, and passed a rock that resembled a venerable Cathedral. We now bore away for Majorca, and coasted it at a distance of about five miles, having a fine view of its grand shores. The scenery is very romantic, and from the Dragonera Island Light to Cape Formenton, the voyage was one of exquisite enjoyment. The sea was of glassy smoothness, and off to our right one long succession of ever-changing beauty for about fifty miles. The hills are some of them most tastefully formed, their peaks lancet-shaped; and the summits of many are tipped with snow. The slopes of these mountain-ranges, which appear to be volcanic, are luxuriant vineyards, and inland the island is very productive. Its exports are grapes and oranges. In the evening late, we passed off Minorca, and saw its light-house on the northeastern coast." On the southern coast of Minorca, the most northernly of these islands, in 40 degrees north latitude, is Port Mahon.

Pursuing the same direction, the traveller soon reaches Leghorn, or Livorno, a city of Tuscany, containing a population of from 80,000 to 85,000. From this point are exported almonds, anchovies, (taken in vast quantities near the island of Gorgona), hemp, liquorice, madder, manna, quicksilver, raisins, skins, soap, gum-arabic, sponges, cantharides, saffron-flowers, tragacanth, oils, brimstone, parmesan, cheese, cream-of-tartar, juniper-berries, &c. Its imports are, logwood, tobacco, wheat, sugar, rum, lead ore, lead in pigs, litharge, alum, cassia, cinnamon, pimento, nutmegs, pepper, cloves, ginger, cochineal, cocoa, coffee, hides, cotton, indigo, &c. It is in latitude about  $43\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north, and about 88 east from Washington. All travellers concur in the opinion that Leghorn is one of the best-built cities, and perhaps the very best paved one on the Continent. The streets are wide, and are paved with granite of solid blocks, laid in cement. The people are gay, polite, dress handsomely, and seem to be industrious. From this port are sent vast quantities of marble taken from quarries in the neighborhood, which are sent to the United States, and are here in general demand for ornamental and some useful purposes. It is much more beautiful, and therefore more highly prized than our own production. The English government has a burying-ground near this place, and in it rest the remains of Smollet, the novelist and historian.

Florence is about eighty miles from Leghorn, and is reached by a railroad. This is indeed a city of palaces and churches. It is also the seat of modern art; besides which, it occupies an interesting position in the history of the past. Here are



the *chef-d'œuvres* of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Rembrandt; and here are the studios of our gifted countrymen, Powers and Hart.

The first object that strikes the curious is the cathedral, called in native language *Il Duomo*, and in architectural skill is only inferior to St. Peter's at Rome. It is nearly 450 feet in length, and 365 in height. It is of polished black and white marble, and the interior pavement is of variegated marble, said to have been arranged by Michael Angelo. The only other church which deserves particular attention is that of San Lorenzo, which, as well as the Duomo, was designed by Brunellesco. It is inferior in magnificence to the Duomo. It is celebrated mainly for two buildings attached to it—the Medicenean Chapel and the Sacristy—the latter the work of Michael Angelo. The chapel adjoining the back of the church was commenced in the early part of the 17th century, by Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, and intended as the final resting-place of the mortal remains of his ancestors, and as the depository of the Holy Sepulchre, for which he was then in treaty. The form is octagonal, its diameter between 90 and 100 feet, and its elevation to the vault about 200 feet. It is lined with onyx, jasper, lapis-lazuli, furnished with sarcophagi of porphyry that are supported by pilasters of granite and capitals of bronze. The Crucifixion of the Saviour in marble by a sculptor of Bolana, and the blessed Virgin by Michael Angelo, are among its treasures of wealth.

We find it impossible to fix, with any degree of certainty, from any history of Florence which we are able to procure, the precise period of its foundation. It was certainly used by the Etruscans as a place for fairs and markets, and the booths erected by them for the accommodation of trade may be said to have been the first houses in Florence. We know that it was a Roman colony under Sylla, by whom the city was first planned. History declares that Totila, king of the Goths, in his wars against the Roman generals under the Emperor Justinian, almost wholly destroyed it. There are many incidents connected with the history of Florence that make her a subject of great interest to the American visitor. For a considerable period of her history she was a Republic. The great lesson which the history of Florence teaches is, that her greatness fled with her liberty. The principle of popular representation in the framework of government was at an early period recognized and acted upon by the Florentines. The framework of government reposed the law-making power in a senate of one hundred persons, and the execution of its mandates was confided to consuls chosen from four different portions of the city. The chief infirmity of government experienced by the Florentines was in controlling the consuls and confining their action within just and proper limits,

It is in the nature of power to corrupt its possessor; and this principle the Florentines experienced. In order to obviate the danger which sprung from the venality, corruption and tyranny of these public servants, recourse was had to a very remarkable civil regulation. In civil and criminal cases, the adjudication and administration of the law were taken from the citizens and reposed in the hands of a foreigner selected for that purpose. The remedy must certainly have been as bad as the disease. This recourse to a stranger to execute public justice was designed to obviate the odium which might attach to the citizen who inflicted the sentence of the laws; and on the other hand, the judge was not influenced by motives of fear, or controlled by family partialities, in doing what was demanded by the public safety. The character of the Florentine people impelled them occasionally to take part in the quarrels of the emperors and the popes; yet, at the same time, the success and prosperity of the State were not thereby retarded. An intestine war commenced during the first years of the 13th century, between the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines, or the papal and imperial party, which continued with various success for more than thirty years; yet the Republic of Florence seems not to have suffered either in population or wealth. They appear to have been utilitarian in all their notions. The enlargement of the city, the erection of public buildings, castles, and fortifications seemed to constitute the objects to which the public treasury and individual energy and industry were directed. Their manner of living was simple, and luxury and effeminacy were discountenanced by society, and in a very good degree were made obnoxious to the penalty of the law. Of such a condition of things in a State it may indeed be said, that growth in greatness and all the public virtues which adorn a State and constitute its true glory were the natural consequences.

The tourist cannot but recognize the justness of the description of Florence, as given by that observant writer, Mr. Choules, from whose work we have already quoted.

#### ART. VIII.—AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CITIES—PHILADELPHIA.

[Some months since we published a series of able papers, from the pen of Mr. Tyson, upon the growth and prospects of Philadelphia. In order that the subject may be brought down to the present date, we incorporate the statistics for 1853, prepared under direction of the Board of Trade.]

We deem it proper to notice certain indications of the commercial prosperity and progress of this city during 1853. The past year has been a most prosperous one for Philadelphia. The statistics of every department of her industry and trade show

this. An investigation which we have lately made assures us that her manufacturing production has largely increased since the census of 1850, the capital and products being in many instances more than doubled in that short interval. Were we to state, on the data before us, what is the probable aggregate wealth invested in and annually realized by the principal branches of her mechanical arts, we should safely estimate it as exceeding a hundred millions of dollars. The same gratifying prosperity has marked her domestic and foreign commerce. The jobbing business alone, which, upon reliable grounds of calculation, reaches a present total value per annum of hundreds of millions of dollars, has grown recently in an unprecedented measure, extending itself over every section of the vast interior, north, south and west. Importation has felt the stimulus of an expanding traffic in the distribution of supplies to every quarter of the Union, and has augmented proportionately. On referring to the books in the Custom House, we find that during the year just closed, Philadelphia has increased her direct imports of foreign goods to a very great extent over the importations of 1852, while there is reason to believe that the amount entered in the name and on account of her own importers at other ports has been commensurately enlarged. Exportation has prospered in even a higher ratio. The amount of shipping which has entered and cleared here during the past twelve months, bringing and carrying hence cargoes of every variety of foreign and home produce, affords an idea of the magnitude of the maritime commerce of the city in 1853. The reports from the surveyor of the port state that the aggregate foreign and coastwise arrivals for the year exceeded, including all classes of vessels, twenty-nine thousand. Immense quantities of domestic products coming hither from the fields and factories of the interior, have been shipped hence to every section of the commercial world. Millions of tons of coal, breadstuffs, iron, beef and pork, whisky, tobacco, lumber, and almost every species of commodity, the produce of agriculture and manufactures, have been floated from our wharves, since January last, to innumerable and distant markets.

Population, too, has advanced with this astonishing growth of every mercantile and industrial interest. The greatly increased consumption of provisions, the multiplication of new stores and factories and dwellings, the swelling current of life in our thoroughfares, the extended list of taxable citizens, and the evident accession of capital in every branch of local business, attest a rapid accumulation of inhabitants. Several thousand houses of every description, most of them of magnificent proportions and costly finish, have been added to the city and its environs during the last year, and yet the demand for this sort of accommodation by families and artisans and merchants is unabated, rents are

rising, real estate is growing rapidly in value, and the work of extension and improvement in building is going forward with ever-increasing briskness. The open grounds and commons in the suburbs are fast vanishing before the march of enterprise and construction. Spaces which but the other day were vacant, are now occupied by long rows of stately mansions, while hundreds of splendid villas dot thickly the picturesque face of the surrounding country. Paved footways are extended on each side of the line of spacious streets to remote districts, and in a few more months we expect to see the now small intervals of unbuilt ground that divide these suburban settlements from the body of the metropolis compactly closed up with lines of edifices and avenues reaching half a score of miles, lit with the gas of the city works and supplied with the water from Fairmount. The prosperity of which the facts recited are the evidence, is of a wholesome and solid character, and not the result of developments stimulated by temporary and artificial causes. Capital and credit have been confined here within the limits of a legitimate enterprise, and natural advantages of position, combining with social energy, intelligence, and integrity, have produced substantial thrift and happiness.

If we may congratulate ourselves on what Philadelphia is, anticipation can hardly exaggerate what she is destined to become. Situated on a magnificent river, to which the tides of the ocean, with the aid of steam, may float in a few hours the largest ship entering the Bay of Delaware; connected by lines of canal and railway with the head waters of the Ohio and all the vast network of improvements which penetrate the States west and south of it; backed by an immense area of territory richer in natural wealth than any other of equal extent on this side of the Atlantic, and united, not only by favorableness of location, but by its many hallowed associations, as well as its eminently loyal and conservative character, as an American city, in a closer and more genial affinity with every part of the national confederacy than any sister emporium upon the eastern seaboard, its capabilities for future growth seem unbounded. Its near neighborhood or easy accessibility to exhaustless treasures of anthracite and bituminous coal, to rich deposits of iron ore, extensive beds of limestone, marble, granite, clay, and sand; to thousands upon thousands of acres of the finest lumber, and an agricultural region whose valleys teem with production and whose mountain sides repay with golden harvests the skilful culture of the husbandman, adapts Philadelphia to be one day not only the great manufacturing capital of this continent, but one of the chief centres of industrial art in the world. With all the physical elements for the purpose placed within immediate reach, and in conjunction with cheap living, ample capital, skilful labor, and institu-



tions devoted to the science of mechanics, it is easy to see that the result predicted will be but the effect of compelling causes.

There are good reasons, also, to believe that Philadelphia will grow in time to be the point of an immense shipping trade. Its locality with reference to the interior, from which the great mass of the exports of the country will come, must give it, with the aid of equal facilities of access, the advantage over every other Atlantic port as the depot of western produce seeking foreign markets and the extension of railway connections with the States; and the establishment of numerous lines of ocean steamers and sailing packets, will secure this city a flourishing export and import commerce. It is acknowledged already to be the chief market for the distribution of merchandise, domestic and foreign, to the West and South, and with other things made equal, the point of supply to the interior bids fair to become the principal point of the reciprocal trade.

In speaking of the sources of the present and future prosperity of Philadelphia, there is one which deserves special notice. We mention it in no spirit of self-commendation, but merely to induce adherence to a principle of success which cannot be too highly valued by individuals or communities. The sound tone of mercantile morals here—the stern attachment to conscientious principles of dealing, has done as much, if not more, than any other one thing, to build up the commercial fortunes of this city on that staunch foundation on which they securely repose. While, as a market, it possesses all the necessary qualities and attractions which other cities of the East enjoy, it is distinguished for the frankness, the integrity, the gentlemanly courtesy and the generous liberality of its merchants and its people generally. All the interests and operations of trade in this community are in the main based upon and actuated by simple honesty of purpose, and it is to this circumstance that Philadelphia may attribute her immunity from wild speculations, immoderate overtrading, rash personal extravagance and disastrous bankruptcies. A metropolis could have no more valuable element of a wholesome prosperity and progress than the sterling commercial virtue which engages universal confidence. It has acquired for this city a wide-spread public regard, and it will continue, as it ought, to enlarge yearly its business custom and relations.

#### RECEIPTS OF CALIFORNIA GOLD.

We publish below a very interesting table, showing the gold deposits at the mint of the United States in Philadelphia, since mining operations commenced on the Pacific. It will be seen from the statement that there has been a steady annual increase in the amounts received, and that in the five years named they have risen in value from ten to fifty-three millions of dollars. While

the supplies indicate the abundant richness of the source from which they are derived, and promise continued growth with the additional labor as well as improved skill that will probably be hereafter employed in the business of mining the gold of California, the statement also affords a satisfactory proof of the ample capacity of the Philadelphia mint to coin any quantity of the metal that may be sent here for the purpose.

*Comparative Statement of Gold deposits at the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia, since the California discoveries.*

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
January.....	253,989..	1,139,959..	5,071,667..	4,161,680..	4,962,097
February.....	385,672..	2,114,718..	3,004,970..	3,010,222..	3,548,523
March.....	335,940..	1,606,350..	2,880,271..	3,892,156..	7,533,752
April.....	477,448..	1,782,325..	2,878,353..	3,091,037..	4,851,321
May.....	669,721..	2,603,526..	3,269,491..	4,335,578..	4,365,638
June.....	1,193,754..	2,144,330..	3,637,560..	6,689,474..	4,545,179
July.....	907,834..	2,610,436..	3,127,517..	4,193,880..	3,505,331
August.....	1,454,377..	3,370,579..	4,135,312..	2,671,536..	4,518,902
September.....	1,033,309..	3,450,038..	4,046,799..	4,253,687..	3,027,805
October.....	1,187,921..	3,524,760..	4,743,586..	4,140,069..	4,472,606
November.....	857,774..	4,473,284..	5,492,456..	7,279,942..	3,650,051
December.....	1,733,936..	4,620,153..	5,641,425..	3,336,932..	4,445,000
	10,491,675..	33,240,458..	47,929,407..	51,056,243..	53,426,205

The gold in the above statement, received from any other source than California, is very small in amount, probably between \$3,000,000 and \$5,000,000.

The following table, compiled from the monthly statements of coinage published in the *North American*, will show the coinage at the mint for 1853:—

<b>GOLD COINAGE—Double Eagles.....</b>	<b>\$25,226,520</b>
Eagles.....	2,012,530
Half Eagles.....	1,528,850
Quarter Eagles.....	3,511,670
Dollars.....	4,096,051
<b>Total gold coinage.....</b>	<b>\$36,375,621</b>
<b>Bars.....</b>	<b>15,397,536</b>
<b>Total gold coinage and bars.....</b>	<b>\$51,773,157</b>
<b>SILVER COINAGE—Dollars.....</b>	<b>\$46,110</b>
Half Dollars.....	1,766,354
Quarter Dollars.....	3,813,555
Dimes.....	1,217,301
Half Dimes.....	667,251
Three Cent Pieces.....	338,550
<b>Total Silver Coinage.....</b>	<b>\$7,840,121</b>
<b>COPPER.....</b>	<b>\$62,505</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Gold Coinage and Bars .....	\$51,773,157
Silver Coinage .....	7,849,121
Copper Coinage .....	62,505

Total Coinage and Bars cast in 1853 ..... \$59,684,783

## COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

*Of the Quantity of Coffee Imported into the Port of Philadelphia for eleven years, from 1843 to 1853, inclusive.*

FROM	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.
Laguayra .....	43197	37943	29561	48288	34890	41609	48337	49944	32168	37060	27650
Rio de Janeiro .....	31380	20068	26294	51237	19609	47444	45376	48906	76043	80931	127804
St. Domingo .....	699	254	—	1175	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cuba .....	3590	3665	401	4732	336	67	680	843	2483	177	379
Porto Rico .....	97	28	5494	5	—	—	—	1791	823	—	100
Java .....	—	—	—	—	450	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maracaibo .....	7615	8138	6903	11569	10445	5939	11997	12269	5722	10077	4811
Jamaica .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	341	1584	785	1568	1382
Europe .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	300	—	—	—
Matanzas and St. Thomas .....	1070	117	7	7	11	253	205	—	—	—	1177
Port au Prince and Cape Hatien .....	9801	16193	2834	9284	6549	16136	1604	5712	5230	6025	5360
Havana .....	4021	360	10	6	164	—	562	310	—	96	2862
Coastwise .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	8813	8700	7794	9737	5570
Total Bags .....	98580	91737	73105	126007	72504	111457	114925	105961	131032	146571	177044
Hhds .....	50	19	—	—	—	—	—	12	28	10	43
Tierces .....	—	1	—	—	4	52	36	72	101	17	37
Barrels .....	12	84	—	116	18	401	120	181	247	85	116

The following are some of the principal articles imported at this port during the year 1853, in comparison with previous years:—

	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Brandy, pkgs. ....	8,592	7,742	4,303	11,030
Brimstone, tons .....	1,130	956	2,889	3,194
Coffee, bags .....	105,106	131,052	146,571	177,044
Cotton, bales .....	41,809	48,306	67,292	62,000
Hides, No. ....	132,488	157,377	147,501	149,404
Honey, pkgs. ....	883	1,000	550	1,378
Indigo, pkgs. ....	641	685	1,626	754
Iron, tons .....	4,844	10,966	13,322	24,644
Iron, bars .....	359,722	297,007	233,081	375,077
Iron, bbls. ....	136,423	153,859	120,028	194,338
Lead, pigs .....	60,394	53,624	54,892	40,637
Lemons, boxes .....	16,714	11,845	21,651	16,712
Logwood, tons .....	2,144	1,249	2,336	1,528
Molasses, hhds. ....	23,702	25,854	22,877	18,026
Molasses, bbls. ....	15,335	8,936	9,864	6,932
Mackerel, bbls. ....	61,048	66,774	63,280	20,451
Naval Stores, bbls. ....	63,755	62,522	81,658	99,711
Oranges, boxes .....	33,003	34,657	27,563	39,702
Rice, tierces .....	7,944	7,014	10,035	13,378
Raisins, pkgs. ....	—	59,738	39,498	39,369
Sumac, bags .....	6,778	4,490	7,929	10,255
Salt, sacks .....	86,380	121,568	112,871	157,363
Salt, bushels .....	203,271	290,315	180,790	154,627
Saltpetre, bags .....	24,761	11,622	22,251	12,656
Sugar, hhds. ....	32,733	33,166	42,910	42,587
“ boxes .....	31,482	28,971	33,683	24,331
“ bbls. ....	6,191	7,048	8,321	3,006
“ bags .....	40,530	67,764	55,443	81,806
Wine, pkgs. ....	6,989	6,649	6,010	3,886

## COTTON.

*Comparative Statement of the Imports of Cotton coastwise, at the Port of Philadelphia, during the years 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1853.*

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Charleston, bales.....	17,896	10,797	15,764	20,368	19,493
Savannah, ".....	11,557	14,114	12,165	20,428	17,887
Mobile, ".....	1,981	2,534	3,016	5,453	9,150
Florida, ".....	417	1,302	117	—	711
New-Orleans, ".....	13,633	12,909	16,788	20,529	14,392
Other ports, ".....	62	151	456	514	367
Total.....	45,618	41,809	48,306	67,292	62,000

## PHILADELPHIA EXPORTS.

The following is a comparative statement of some of the principal articles of domestic produce exported from this port to foreign ports for the four quarters ending 30th September, 1852 and 1853 :—

	1852.		1853.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Wheat, bushels.....	495,424	\$503,844	686,106	\$815,425
Corn, bushels.....	130,979	90,968	216,233	138,820
Flour, bbls.....	368,336	1,589,363	452,480	2,379,699
Corn Meal, bbls.....	72,240	233,017	67,139	214,944
Rye Meal, bbls.....	6,336	22,353	3,279	12,607
Ship Bread, bbls.....	30,067	68,343	25,739	53,563
Rice, tierces.....	3,661	84,114	4,525	121,040
Cotton, bales.....	6,375	254,541	3,528	198,494
Tobacco, hhds.....	876	78,728	1,198	102,730
" lbs.....	269,612	27,235	289,560	31,296
Candles, lbs.....	1,075,656	165,627	639,608	76,362
Soap, lbs.....	1,082,922	176,318	773,847	31,953
Nails, lbs.....	309,050	16,689	320,150	16,067
Domestics, pkgs.....	5,424	283,399	2,636	166,517
Sperm Oil, gallons.....	17,353	22,251	3,154	3,927
Whale Oil, gallons.....	28,907	19,524	31,923	20,464
Bark, hhds.....	2,764	59,064	2,497	46,169
Naval Stores, bbls.....	19,255	27,856	8,346	14,571
Beef, bbls.....	5,617	94,219	7,788	117,320
Butter, lbs.....	486,367	55,649	301,876	39,721
Cheese, lbs.....	165,487	72,683	39,496	7,642
Tallow, lbs.....	835,020	157,953	387,699	39,722
Pork, bbls.....	7,895	124,590	8,498	125,470
Hams, lbs.....	624,590	68,416	4,983,558	498,256
Lard, lbs.....	1,789,353	449,874	1,560,878	161,516

## SUGAR AND MOLASSES.

The following is a comparative statement of the receipts of these articles coastwise, at the Port of Philadelphia, for the years 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1853 :—

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Sugar, hhds. and tierces.....	19,411	17,369	10,523	8,045	10,436
" barrels.....	2,636	3,162	1,966	572	1,053
" bags.....	2,041	16,357	15,557	5,271	9,281
Molasses, hhds. and tcs.,.....	548	497	1,396	1,031	209
" barrels.....	16,305	14,063	8,268	9,103	6,596



## BREADSTUFFS.

The following is a comparative statement of the exports of Flour and Grain from the Port of Philadelphia to foreign ports for the last four years:—

	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Flour, bbls.....	185,009	300,426	402,508	546,846
Corn Meal, bbls.....	94,134	64,905	70,075	74,209
Rye Meal, ".....	24,981	10,250	6,461	3,749
Ship Bread ".....	28,976	23,285	23,955	23,890
Wheat, bush.....	155,140	225,201	674,518	780,153
Corn, ".....	603,712	557,779	136,793	538,968
Rice, tierces.....	2,864	3,665	2,732	5,802

## THE COAL TRADE OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR 1853.

The following Table exhibits the quantity of Anthracite Coal sent to market from the different regions in Pennsylvania, from the commencement of the Trade, in 1820, to 1853, inclusive:—

Years.	SCHUYLKILL.			LEHIGH.		Total from all sources.
	Canal.	Railroad.	Total.	Swatara.	Little Schuylkill.	
1820.					305	305
1821.					1,073	1,073
1822.					2,240	2,240
1823.					5,828	5,828
1824.					9,541	9,541
1825.	6,500		6,500		25,393	31,893
1826.	16,767		16,767		31,980	48,747
1827.	31,360		31,360		32,074	63,434
1828.	47,384		47,384		30,232	77,616
1829.	79,973		79,973		25,110	105,083
1830.	89,984		89,984		41,750	131,734
1831.	81,854		81,854		40,966	122,820
1832.	200,271		200,271		70,000	270,271
1833.	252,971		252,971		123,060	376,031
1834.	226,692		226,692		106,244	332,936
1835.	339,508		339,508		131,250	470,758
1836.	432,045		432,045		145,211	577,256
1837.	523,152		523,152	17,000	31,000	571,152
1838.	433,875		433,875	13,000	13,000	459,875
1839.	442,608		442,608	20,639	9,000	472,247
1840.	432,291		432,291	23,869	20,000	476,160
1841.	584,692	830	585,522	17,653	40,000	643,175
1842.	491,602	49,002	540,604	32,381	37,000	610,007
1843.	447,035	230,254	677,289	22,903	31,000	731,192
1844.	398,887	441,491	840,378	34,916	57,000	932,294
1845.	263,587	890,237	1,153,824	47,928	74,000	1,275,752
1846.	3,440	1,333,143	1,336,583	66,926	91,000	1,494,509
1847.	222,693	1,360,631	1,583,324	67,457	106,401	1,757,225
1848.	436,692	1,216,233	1,652,925	61,536	162,626	1,877,089
1849.	489,208	1,115,918	1,605,126	76,299	174,758	1,856,183
1850.	388,000	1,423,977	1,811,977	70,919	211,960	2,104,856
1851.	579,156	1,609,737	2,188,893	66,000	294,677	2,549,570
1852.	800,933	1,663,117	2,464,050	72,144	317,580	2,853,774
1853.	888,869	1,397,311	2,286,180	60,699	384,444	2,731,323
Total.	9,560,410	12,733,084	22,293,494	762,950	2,219,432	24,275,876

## PORT OF PHILADELPHIA.

Foreign arrivals during the year 1853:—

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Total.
January.....	4	10	4	1	19
February.....	9	15	13	6	43
March.....	14	17	29	13	73

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Total.
April.....	8.....	11.....	20.....	9.....	48
May.....	7.....	22.....	20.....	11.....	60
June.....	15.....	14.....	24.....	8.....	61
July.....	7.....	13.....	24.....	11.....	55
August.....	11.....	12.....	22.....	6.....	51
September.....	13.....	14.....	18.....	3.....	48
October.....	13.....	13.....	7.....	8.....	41
November.....	11.....	14.....	12.....	6.....	43
December.....	7.....	8.....	6.....	3.....	24
	119	163	199	85	566

## ARRIVALS COASTWISE DURING THE YEAR 1853.

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Sloops.	Steamers.	Barges.	Boats.	Total.
January.....	1.....	9.....	12.....	66.....	68.....	37.....	17.....	28.....	238
February.....	1.....	7.....	13.....	103.....	78.....	47.....	40.....	69.....	362
March.....	4.....	14.....	13.....	370.....	162.....	62.....	227.....	421.....	1,273
April.....	1.....	9.....	16.....	388.....	187.....	91.....	728.....	861.....	2,281
May.....	3.....	15.....	24.....	576.....	258.....	116.....	632.....	1,092.....	2,716
June.....	1.....	10.....	22.....	703.....	303.....	118.....	618.....	1,399.....	3,144
July.....	1.....	9.....	70.....	774.....	267.....	120.....	611.....	1,238.....	3,196
August.....	5.....	11.....	116.....	825.....	341.....	129.....	806.....	1,322.....	3,458
September.....	19.....	8.....	71.....	736.....	455.....	111.....	724.....	1,383.....	3,400
October.....	22.....	6.....	48.....	640.....	516.....	101.....	622.....	1,564.....	3,719
November.....	16.....	5.....	59.....	699.....	522.....	98.....	701.....	1,210.....	3,318
December.....	22.....	6.....	32.....	443.....	461.....	79.....	406.....	611.....	2,351
	96.....	109.....	529.....	6,325.....	3,700.....	1,135.....	6,325.....	11,008.....	29,456

## ART. IX.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION IN CHARLESTON.\*

## DISCUSSION ON THE PACIFIC RAILROAD, ETC.

## THIRD DAY.

LIEUT. W. F. MAURY presented the following resolutions from the Committee on Business:—

## MANUFACTURING AND MINING.

1st. *Resolved*, That 'whilst agriculture is, and properly should be, the predominant pursuit of the people of the States represented in this Convention, the interests of these States would be very greatly promoted by the employment of capital in other pursuits, and especially in Manufactures and Mining; that the abundance and cheapness of the means of subsistence, of fuel and water-power, the temperature of the climate, and other natural advantages, will, if properly improved, secure to these States a virtual monopoly of the manufacture as well as the growth of cotton;—that it is believed the present cost of transporting this staple abroad will more than cover the expense of manufacturing it at home; and that, as an investment, for security, for certainty of result and uniformity of income, the factory and the mine, when properly managed, have no superior.

2d. *Resolved*, That a Committee of — be appointed by this Convention, for the purpose of obtaining the most reliable statistical information as to the number and location of manufactories and mines in the States represented in this body; the amount of capital invested in the several estab.

Continued from July No.

lishments; the amount of income and disbursements; the number of hands (operatives) employed, free and slave; the amount of the raw material consumed; the quantity and quality of the manufactured articles produced; the prices at which they are furnished; the markets in which they are chiefly sold; and other items of information, tending to show the present condition and extent of our manufacturing interest; and that said Committee furnish the Secretary of the Convention a report of their investigations, to be laid by him before the next meeting of the Convention; and that it be the duty of said Committee to address the people of the States represented in this Convention, and to urge the importance of action in the Legislatures thereof, in favor of education, of manufactures, of ship-building, of direct trade, and of mining; and that it be the duty of said Committee to collect and present, at the next meeting of the Convention, statistics and other useful information, relating to the international improvement of the several States—their industrial resources, their mineral treasures, their manufacturing facilities, and their capacities for trade and commerce; together with a statement, in which shall be set forth the names and lengths of the several railways, their cost, and the increased value which has been imparted to lands and other property, in consequence of such improvements.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of ——— be appointed, to memorialize Congress, in the name of this Convention, and in the most earnest manner to urge the importance of, and to pray for, the following measures, viz.:

1. The remission of duties on railroad iron.
2. The passage of an Act for the improvement of the merchant service, by encouraging boys to go to sea, and for preventing desertion.
3. To send one or two small naval steamers up the Amazon, for the purpose of exploring the tributaries of that river, which the States owning them have declared to be free to the commerce and navigation of the whole world.
4. To encourage the establishment of a line of mail steamers between some Southern seaport town and the mouth of the Amazon, or some other port in Brazil.
5. And also to encourage the establishment of a direct mail route, by steamers, between some Southern port and Europe.
6. Upon the improvement of harbors and navigable rivers.

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, the adoption of the above-named measures would tend mightily to promote the general welfare. The interests of the country require them, and even-handed justice should mete them out.

*Whereas*, The government of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, have made the navigation of their Amazonian waters free to all the world; and *whereas*, this action on the part of those governments has removed those streams from the condition of inland waters, the navigation of which is peculiar to the Riparian States above, and placed them in the category of arms of the sea, the navigation of which is as free to all the world as is that of the great high seas themselves.

*Whereas*, The doctrine that the straits or natural channels which connect free waters with the main ocean, are also free, even though both banks of such channel-way belong to the same State, and be within cannon-shot of each other, is founded on the everlasting principles of right, and is sanctioned by the law of nations; and *whereas*, the attention of the Federal Government has been invited to this subject by a memorial from the Memphis Convention:—Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That Brazil, the nation owning both banks of the Amazon, at its mouth, has no right arbitrarily to shut out the world from the navigation of its waters, or to prevent the citizens of the United States from passing

through the same, with their vessels and merchandise, to the Riparian States, who have invited us to come and trade there.

2. That the President of this Convention be requested, in the name of the Convention, to congratulate the governments of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, upon the enlightened and liberal policy which they have adopted with regard to their Amazonian Provinces, and to assure them of the deep interest which the people, represented in this Convention, feel with regard to the free navigation of the Amazon and its tributaries, to the speedy settlement of the country drained by it, and to the development of its resources.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of — be appointed to consider and report upon the propriety and expediency of adopting some plan for promoting Southern and Western manufactures and mining operations.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to each of the Southern States having a seaport, to encourage the establishment of a direct trade with Europe, either by exempting from taxes, for a limited time, the goods imported, or by allowing the importers an equivalent drawback or bounty, or by such other mode as to the Legislatures of the respective States may seem best.

*Resolved*, That efforts should be made to establish a direct line of steamers with Europe, from some Southern port or ports, *without further delay*; and that, in the event of the establishment of such a line, the united support of all the Southern States should be pledged, if possible, to sustain such a line.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the Government of the United States the formation of reciprocal treaties with foreign governments, for the admission of their respective products at reduced and equal rates of duty; and that the Senators and Representatives from the respective States be requested to bring the subject before Congress.

Lieut. Maury moved that the Convention do now proceed to the consideration of the report, which was agreed to.

Mr. Gibbs moved that this report and resolutions be printed.

The President stated that that motion could not now be entertained, as the resolutions were already before the Convention.

Mr. Gibbs moved to reconsider the vote just taken. It was probable, he thought, that upon the adoption of these resolutions the vote would be taken by States. Hence it was highly important that the delegation from each State should have a meeting, and examine all the provisions embraced in these resolutions. If they were printed, they could be better understood.

Mr. Maurice was not disposed to stay here all the year. He thought the Convention had better proceed to business. The Convention could certainly understand the resolutions without their being printed. He objected to the reconsideration of the vote just taken.

A Delegate from Georgia (whose name was not announced) suggested that while these resolutions were being printed, the debate which was in anticipation on the Pacific Railroad bill could be proceeded with.

The motion to reconsider was adopted.

Mr. Gibbs moved the postponement of the further consideration of the report and resolutions for the purpose above named. The motion was agreed to, and the resolutions were then ordered to be printed.

The President stated that the next business in order was the resolutions presented by the Delegates from Arkansas (Mr. Pike), Tennessee (Hon. J. C. Jones), and Kentucky (Gen. Leslie Combs), on the subject of the Pacific Railroad.

Mr. Jones, of Tenn., stated that the resolutions he had offered yesterday were laid upon the table. That after that the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Combs) offered a series of resolutions similar in their character, and that the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Pike) had also offered others tend-



ing to the same point. By way of accommodating gentlemen who wished to transact other business, he moved that, for the present, the resolutions do lie upon the table. Agreed to.

Lieut. Maury stated that there were additional delegates present, from the States of Missouri and Kentucky, and moved that Mr. James Glendenning, from the State of Missouri, be appointed one of the Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Blackburn, from the same State, one of the Secretaries, which motion was agreed to. Mr. T. S. Kennedy, of the State of Kentucky, was appointed Assistant Secretary.

The several States were then called for resolutions in their alphabetical order.

Mr. J. W. Clay, of Alabama, offered a resolution, proposing that the Committee recommend to Congress the reduction, or, if expedient, the entire repeal of the tonnage duties. Referred to the General Committee.

Gov. Moseley, of Fa., moved that in consequence of Mr. Brown, of Florida, being suddenly called away, Mr. Bryan should be substituted in his place as a member of the Committee.

Gen. Tilghman, of Maryland, submitted a preamble and resolutions on the part of the delegation from that State, embodying their views on the subjects to which they therein referred. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Norton, of Ga., presented several resolutions, which were also referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Marshal, of Miss., offered a resolution to the effect that the President, of the Convention be requested to appoint a committee of five gentlemen connected with our railroad and internal improvement enterprises, and that said committee be requested to report at their earliest convenience. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. M. also offered a series of resolutions on the subject of education. In offering these resolutions, he said that he had never written but one speech in his life, and that one he held in his hand. It contained only forty-six words, and if the Convention would allow him to make that speech on these resolutions, he would ask no more.

Mr. M., it is this:—If the South deems herself unable to produce, print, publish, and teach her own books, then I shall go for employing the North-east to take us under her matronly fosterings as a wet nurse; accept a rattle, and play the minor with uncomplaining submission.

Mr. Blackwood, Mo., offered a series of resolutions in relation to the importance of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, and also one expressing it as the opinion of the Convention, that the improvement of navigable streams by the General Government was a matter of the utmost importance, and particularly those of the Southern and Southwestern States.—Referred to the General Committee.

Col. Hale, S. C., said he had a resolution to offer which was accompanied by a short preamble.

The preamble was to the effect that, *Whereas* the government of Great Britain had lately manifested its devotion to the principles of free trade, by permitting foreigners to participate in the benefits of her coasting trade, on precisely the same terms as those which applied to the people of that country; and *whereas* the Convention was of opinion that this liberal policy ought to be reciprocated by the Government of the United States, and that such legislation on its part would not only conform with the principles now regulating the most enlightened nations of the world, but would also result in great pecuniary benefit to the different States of this Union:—Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the President of the Convention be requested to appoint committees to be selected from the Delegations of the several States respectively in this Convention, whose duty it shall be to memorialize the Legislatures of the said States respectively, submitting this

subject to their consideration and advice, and that they recommend to the Federal Government to respond to this liberal policy of the British Government, by opening our coasting trade to the enterprise of foreigners."

Sir, said Mr. H., I have a speech to make, but it shall be only three words. This, sir, is a new element of trade.

The speech, resolution, and preamble, were all received with marked approbation, and the two latter were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. H. W. Connor requested that a letter he had received from a distinguished citizen of Cincinnati, referring to the causes why no delegation was present from that city, might be read. The letter, he stated, presented several important facts to the consideration of the Convention.

The letter was accordingly read. It was dated Cincinnati, April 4, 1854, and stated that the writer, Mr. James A. Hall, was appointed one of a Committee of ten, on the part of the Chamber of Commerce of that city, to represent its interests in the Convention, but that this was their busy season, and that the people of that city were a busy people, among whom there were few, at present, who had leisure at their disposal. That if they had a representation in the Convention, their delegates would present the importance of a railroad connection between Cincinnati and Charleston. There were only about one hundred and forty miles now to be completed to render the connection complete between the Southern railroads and those of the West; and, with that link completed, the people of the West would be as near to Charleston as they are now to New-York.

The letter was referred to the General Committee.

Dr. Dickson (Professor of the Medical College, S. C.) offered a resolution to the effect that the Convention urge upon the Legislatures of their several States the importance of complete geological surveys of the Southern States. Laid upon the table, without reference to the General Committee.

Mr. Aldridge offered a resolution suggesting the propriety of establishing agricultural societies in different sections of the South.

Mr. Parham, of Tenn., presented a resolution to the effect that the reporters of the New-York *Herald*, the *Tribune* and *Express*, at present engaged in reporting the proceedings of the Convention, be treated as delegates, and invited to partake of the same hospitalities. The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Birch (of Tenn.) offered a resolution suggesting that the Legislatures of the several Southern States be recommended to appropriate ——— thousand dollars for the construction of steamers to ply between Southern and European ports. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Wisdom (Tenn.) presented a resolution to the effect that the General Government be requested to make donations of lands for the construction of certain railroads in Tennessee. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Ruffin, of Virginia, offered a series of resolutions, in which it was resolved that the fishing bounties paid by the government of the United States, and received exclusively by Northern vessels, operated to the increase of Northern shipping, while much of the tax thus levied was collected at the expense of the Southern States.

Also, that the great sums paid by the Federal Government for the maintenance of European mail steamers, were collected principally at the expense of the Southern States, and that all such partiality exhibited on the part of the General Government ought to cease.

The resolutions were received with applause, and were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Leek (Va.) offered a resolution providing that the General Government be memorialized to pass sufficient laws to prevent the abduction of slaves on board of steam and other ships. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. McFarland (Va.) proposed that the next Commercial Convention should be held in Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Worchiss (Va.) presented a like resolution on behalf of his constituents.

The President stated that there were many cities which would be candidates for the honor of the next Convention—New-Orleans, Savannah, Louisville, St. Louis, and others. The resolutions were both laid upon the table.

Mr. Moore, Ala., proposed that in the opinion of the Convention, it was of vital importance that a direct trade be opened from Southern ports in the U. S. to ports in South America, and particularly to those of the empire of Brazil.

Also that the acquisition of the Island of Cuba was an object sincerely to be desired by the Southern States. [Applause.]

The resolutions were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Oakley moved that the Convention now proceed to the consideration of the resolutions on the subject of the Pacific Railroad. The motion was agreed to.

#### PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Gen. Leslie Combs, of Kentucky, was first presented to the Convention on the above subject. He said he had been honored with the privilege of commencing the discussion of a subject which he conceived to be of more vital and practical importance than all the other subjects which might come before the Convention. He alluded to a connection, by railroad, upon our own soil, between the States on the Atlantic Ocean and the great State on the Pacific Ocean.

The Governor of Kentucky (and he a Democratic Governor) had honored him in a mode he little expected, by appointing him as a delegate to that Convention, he being a Whig, thus showing that he (the Governor of Kentucky) as also he (Mr. Combs) did not anticipate that politics would be introduced in their deliberations. [Applause.] The great orator of Kentucky, he whose trumpet tones had so often been heard in the halls of the national legislature, was no more. His voice was hushed in the silence of death, and the people of that State still mourned his loss as a great calamity, and now in a place which he would so admirably have filled, was found one of the humblest sons of Kentucky. He had no flowers of eloquence to present to that Convention—no bouquets to present to the bright and beautiful countenances which now faced those boxes. [Great applause.] What he had to say to the Convention was upon a dry subject, consisting mostly of facts and figures.

Before he proceeded to say what he had to say, perhaps he might be pardoned for making a brief reference to the past. In looking upon all that had been done in the way of progress in the construction of railways, it seemed to him but yesterday since the work had been commenced. He remembered the time when he was thought old enough to be elected a delegate to the Kentucky Legislature, and had presented before that body the first proposition for a railroad west of the Alleghany mountains that had ever been entertained. There were at that time but four railroads commenced on this continent, and he believed there were but four commenced in Europe. They had one four miles long in New England—one in Pennsylvania constructed of wooden rails, and he believed there was one from Charleston to Savannah—a little saddle-bag affair, on which horse power was used. That was in the year 1829. Now what did we see? He had taken the trouble to trace on a little map of the United States the principal railroads in the Union, extending, one of them—true it was as yet only on the map—to the Pacific. Before the time to which he alluded, when on the frontiers of Lake Erie, there was not a civilized inhabitant between the head of Lake Erie

and the Pacific. And now what was there? State upon State, with immense resources and an extensive and intelligent population. Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, and territory upon territory, extending clear across the continent. All this had come to pass within this brief period.

The President, (playfully.)—How did you get there?

Mr. Combs.—Part of the way on the top of the earth, and part of the way through swamps, when defending the country against invasion by red-coats and savages. [Applause.] And now from four little railroads see what has been completed! When he had the temerity to present a proposition in the legislature of Kentucky, the wealthiest landholder in the State thought he was a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. Fortunately a very able and intelligent mechanic of Kentucky constructed the first locomotive that was ever built in the United States, but this wealthy gentleman thought it could not be made to go without legs, because he could not conceive how it could be made to hold back in going down hill, or how it could shove up when it came to a tight fix. [Laughter.] But this ingenious mechanic also constructed a miniature railroad, and placed this one-horse locomotive upon it, and after this skeptical gentleman had seen its operation, he became one of the most ardent advocates of the railroad system.

The resolutions which he had the honor to present the other day were, with other resolutions of a like character, presented to the Committee appointed for that purpose. They were three in number, the first averring that it was of vital importance to the interests of the whole country that we should have one or more railroads to the Pacific. He was for more than one. The second resolution pointed out the commencement of railroads, with a route and description of the plan on which a Southern Pacific Railroad should be built. He had laid down the route on a small map of the United States, and regretted that he had not procured a larger one that it might be better seen by the Convention. Here (pointing to the map) was Massachusetts represented by a little blue spot, and that "inch by inch and a half State" had expended fifty millions of dollars in the construction of railways. This larger blue spot was nowhere in those days, but it is now called the State of Maine. At this point there is now a railroad away up in the North and through the mountains, connecting that district not only with her older Southern sisters, but also with Canada. New-York—this broad fan-like-looking concern, with her foot on the Atlantic, and her shoulders extending along three lakes—had not a railroad in these days to which we had referred; but he remembered very well having heard it said that when the projector of the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River spoke to Mr. Jefferson on the subject, he replied that in the next century it would be time enough to complete it. Yet in 25 years it was completed, and there was a railroad running alongside of it. And not only that, but look now at all the other railroads in that State, and all the rest running thence to the West, bringing in the produce from those teeming granaries! Here (again pointing to the map) was Kentucky. It did not look very large upon paper, but there it stood with one foot on the Mississippi River, then extending along the Ohio River, and presenting a frontier along the borders of three States, and, as in times past, it had been a bulwark against the ravages of the Indian, so even now it was, and in future would continue to be, a bulwark to the other slave States. [Applause.]

He proposed now to discuss the route he had suggested for this Southern railroad. Here (again pointing to the map) was Texas, larger than New-York, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio together, and as so many railroads were pointing from the North to the South in that direction, he proposed to extend the Southern route as far as it could be done, according to charters already granted.

He did not propose to ask the general government to do anything. He



proposed that the people of the South should put both shoulders to the wheel, and by doing so they could make a railroad to *Passo del Norte*, without any aid from the General Government. He proposed to run from St. Louis to New-Orleans, according to the charters already granted, to the thirty-second parallel of latitude. The Legislature of Texas had, at its last session, passed a law giving twenty sections per mile for a road to be constructed very nearly on the thirty-second parallel of latitude, which was a greater degree of bounty than any other State could give. In adopting that line he expected to accomplish two objects—to run through the centre of the slave territory, and to have the benefit of the twenty sections per mile donated by the State of Texas. He had been over a great portion of the country to be benefited by the road; and from his own observation he had not the slightest doubt of the practicability of the route to the Rio Grande. After that the line would run through a portion of Mexican territory. Probably, the best route was through a portion of Mexico. He was, therefore, much gratified when he heard that a treaty had been made with the government of that country for a portion of land embracing that route. Whether that treaty had received the sanction of the Senate was more than he could vouch for; but he hoped its main features would be adopted by the United States, and receive the sanction of Mexico. In looking over the map, it was impossible not to perceive the vast interests which would concentrate themselves upon that line. It was true that the main arms would run through Texas; but it spread out its hand and grasped all the other slave States, and especially the Northern States on the Mississippi River.

In addition to the law passed by the Legislature of Texas, there were many other propositions before Congress for the donation of lands for the construction of railroads in various Southern and Western States; but he regretted to say that when he left Washington a few days ago, he saw little probability of any of them being passed. All of them had readily passed the Senate; but in the House of Representatives, the first test question happened to be upon a proposition granting lands to Iowa, and the bill was either laid upon the table or committed to the Committee of the whole House, there to be buried.

He knew that some of his Southern friends supposed that only one railroad to the Pacific was necessary. He, however, believed that there would be two at least. At the meeting of the great railroad celebration in Boston, he was the only slaveholder present. He never expected to see such a convention again. The President of the United States, with a portion of his Cabinet, was on the one hand of the presiding officer of that body, and the representative of royalty, in the person of the Governor General of Canada, on the other; and he (Mr. C.) had suggested to Lord Elgin that if he could not make a living in Canada, he could be guaranteed one in Kentucky, as a stump speaker. [Laughter and applause.] That Convention looked to the carrying out a system of railroads from the North to the Pacific; and he believed that Mr. Hincks, the chief adviser of the Governor General, had been in England to negotiate loans, and had returned with a subscription of \$55,000,000 for that purpose. It therefore became the South to be up and doing for themselves. It had been urged that a road could not be built over the snows of Northern mountains; but it might as well be said that the ice on Northern Lakes would prevent their navigation. If the North built a road they would pass the gorges of the Rocky mountains. But even if it were built, there would be six months in the year in which they would have to pass over the Southern route. And were both these routes constructed, he would not consider them as rivals. They could be both sustained. It seemed as if the God of nature had intended that these two lines should be built so that the old States of the Atlantic should be like a mother taking the younger States into their arms, and protecting them even to the shores of the Pacific. With these two roads constructed, the people of the States

could go on a trip of pleasure on one route and return by the other in less than sixty days, and all without injury to health; and thus they could find themselves happy all the way round.

He did not come here to speak unkindly of the Northern States. It was not the habit of the people of Kentucky either, to speak behind the backs of those to whom they were opposed in interest. He had spoken to the people of the North face to face. He knew these people well. He knew the enthusiasm of many of them, and the perfect madness of some of them, as he had sometimes had occasion to illustrate by an anecdote of a scene that had occurred in Utica in 1848, when a portion of the Democratic party had tried to administer upon the estate of Gen. Cass. [Mr. C. here recited an amusing story of a scene that he had witnessed, in which a "perfectionist preacher" figured largely. The relation created considerable merriment. He alluded in severe terms to Northern fanaticism, and the various "isms" which divided the people of that section of the Union, being particularly severe on the "Woman's Rights" party, as headed by Miss Lucy Stone, describing that lady's speechifying as "A farago of nonsense, like a slow-falling rain, without stop, meaning, or emphasis." He had never been but once to any of their meetings; and he did not want to hear them discuss public matters. He preferred to be with them confidentially [great laughter]; and although he admired a large number of them, he would rather have one soft pair of eyes looking on him than those of a thousand ugly men. After some further pleasantries, intended for the special benefit of the ladies in the boxes, Mr. C. concluded his remarks, by recapitulating briefly the route which he proposed, and the particular benefit which would be derived by the Southern States, if it were adopted, and the work commenced and carried on in an energetic manner to its consummation.]

Mr. Albert Pike (of Ark.) next proceeded to address the Convention. He stated that he did so under feelings of embarrassment, and that, as if to add to that embarrassment, two gentlemen had alluded to him in such terms that he was sure if the Convention labored under the slightest expectation that his efforts would be equal to the manifestoes made in advance, they would be disappointed. He was conscious that he was the last man that ought to address the Convention. There were a hundred men present who had better claims to be heard than he. He was also conscious that his State did not occupy that attitude which would entitle her to raise her voice among her Southern sisters; and furthermore, he was conscious that he had no such standing as authorized him to be heard in preference to many gentlemen of character, and distinction and rank, in the councils of their countries, by whom he was surrounded. He would, therefore, have preferred to be silent. Being, however, called upon, he would endeavor to sustain in a few words the resolutions he had introduced on the previous day.

After what was said yesterday by the gentleman from Mississippi, he thought they ought to define their position in one particular. That gentleman had described the distinction which he drew between a practical man and a visionary. He (Mr. P.) was perhaps not a practical man, but a mere visionary in attempting to provide for the welfare of generations that were to come after us. The visionary was one who "saw visions and dreamed dreams;" and when he left this city, and the beautiful beings he had seen in it, he should see visions and dream dreams, as of the faces of angels hovering between him and the sky—dreams, as of the faces now looking down upon them to bless them, and induce them to seek the welfare of this beautiful South of ours. [Great Applause.]

In everything which had been said by the gentleman who had preceded him he agreed. He agreed that the Southern route to the Pacific was the cheapest, the most practicable, the shortest, and that it ought, therefore, to be adopted. He agreed that the General Government, in fixing upon any

route, ought to be influenced by these considerations. A true statesman was one who foresaw and recognized the existence of difficulties, and then prepared himself to meet and overcome them. A true statesman did not act upon the supposition that men were perfect. Recognizing evil points in human character, he would seize upon them, and endeavor to turn them to good account. There was a North and a South, and there would be a North and a South so long as this Union existed. There was an institution in the South which excited the feelings of the North; but it was foolish to shut our eyes also to the fact, that there were other considerations in operation—considerations of money and of commercial prosperity.

Before he proceeded further, he wished to set himself right in regard to the motives by which he was actuated. The resolutions he had presented had been characterized as *ultra*. It had been objected by some gentlemen that they were too strong. They were meant and intended to be strong. It was not customary to treat a cataleptic patient with sweet perfumes, but the cautery was applied at once. There was no hostility to the North—no ill feeling embodied in these resolutions. He had none, and could have none in his mind. He was a Northern man himself. He was born in the good old State of Massachusetts. Years ago he had come to the South, and cast his lot with Southern people; he had children, and he had reared and educated them in the South. He loved his country—the whole country; and he would never give up the inestimable privilege of planting his foot as an American upon the battle-ground of Bunker's Hill. But when they had a question of rivalry in regard to business matters to discuss, it was necessary that they should talk plainly. It was not worth while to deceive themselves, or to be deceived; but, as the Irishman said, the best way to avoid danger was to meet it plump in the face.

Now there was a large portion of the United States that never seemed to be taken into consideration by Southern men. There was, it would be remembered, a Western section. We had been apt to think that when we got a railroad as far as St. Louis, that was as far as we could go. There was the northern portion of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, the whole of Iowa and Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska, that were forming a new country, which some day would be the greatest country that God's sun had ever shone upon. And now while the South was sitting with her eyes shut, what was the course which was being pursued by the North, in regard to that country, for the purpose of filling it up with a population, and giving it a preponderance over the whole South? How many gentlemen were aware of the fact, that with almost every breath we drew there came a Northern voter into this vast and beautiful section, ready to cast his vote for a member of Congress? They had bid for the foreign emigration, by providing that all foreign emigration settling in some of these territories should have the privileges of citizenship, without even declaring their intentions to become such. That was one bid; and the Homestead Bill, giving away millions of acres of land, which had already passed the House of Representatives, was another bid. The Nebraska and Kansas Territory Bill was another bid; and all this was being done while the South was lying idle. He thought that there was hardly a Southern man present who would agree to the law allowing the unnaturalized foreigner to vote side by side with him at the polls. [Great applause.] The South did not want foreign emigration on any such terms. [Renewed applause.] And, in his deliberate opinion, it was a gross violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a gross outrage upon the Southern States, for any State or Territory to give the foreign emigrant the right of voting before becoming a naturalized citizen. [Continued applause.] He thought, that of all the outrages the North had sought to commit upon the South, that was infinitely the greatest of them all.

He had travelled over all these Western countries, and in all his travels

had never seen such a country as that to be found in the States of Iowa and Wisconsin. It was a perfect paradise in many respects, with the exception that it was too cold for Southern constitutions. There could be found hundreds of miles of the most beautiful prairie land, inviting the Northern man to come and merely turn over the sod, with the promise of reaping his fifty bushels of grain to the acre. Germans and Irish, and people from every other country, were flocking to Minnesota and Iowa. They get pre-emption rights now by merely making a little shanty from the bark of trees. Forty emigrants would go to that country for one that would come South. And what was the effect? Why, that they were increasing their political power at our expense. He did not know that it was not fair that they should do so if they could; but the first duty which we owed to those who were to come after us, was to ascertain the weight of our adversary, if possible, so that we might checkmate him if it were in our power. How many years would it be before twenty members of Congress would represent this foreign vote? And with this continued increase in foreign and Northern influence, was it not obvious that the prospect of the South ever getting the Pacific Railroad was put further and further off every year? Why, even St. Louis was beginning to come down and join in the demand for the Southern route. Only think of five days' uninterrupted steaming above the city of St. Louis, and could not gentlemen see at once that that was the country from which opposition to Southern interest was to come? He was confident that during the discussion of the Gadsden Treaty, in the Senate, it was currently understood that Northern members would not vote for it; and that, too, on the specific ground that it was to get a route to the Pacific over Mexican soil. Look, too, at the character of Northern men. Who ever heard of a Northern man giving another an advantage in a matter of trade! Had any body ever heard of a Northern man giving up the interest of his own section of country through mere good feeling! No man ever heard of such a thing; and it was both unnatural and unreasonable to expect it; and the men of the North knew full well that wherever the Pacific Railroad went, there, too, would go the power and wealth of the country. The North had discovered that, and they were not going to come down and say to the South that they did not want to control it, or that the South should not have it. Oh no! that was not their policy. They would be as silent as possible, and thus the South would be cheated out of their rights, and they could never know it until they were lost forever. Who could expect the North to postpone or forego their interests for the sake of ours? Nobody. Suppose we went to Northern men and said to them: "We can demonstrate that our route is five hundred miles shorter than yours; that it is cheaper on the score of grades; that we can get cheaper labor and cheaper building materials, and we want you to go with us for our route, because the result will be that the trade of India and China will come to New-Orleans and Charleston, and Savannah and Richmond, instead of going to Philadelphia, and New-York, and Boston, and we want you to help us to get it?" Would he not answer: "Do you think I am a fool? Are not these the very reasons why I should not go for it?" Most undoubtedly such would be the answer.

Again, it should be remembered that there were a great many ingredients and considerations that entered into the characters of public men. His experience was that there is very little of patriotism, and much of sectional feeling and local prejudice in our public men. How many measures were passed by Congress for which even six men out of the whole number voted from mere considerations of patriotism? Were they not affected generally by considerations of pecuniary and sectional interests? So in regard to a railroad to the Pacific. It was not purely a patriotic question. Many men would say that they desired it for the sake of protecting our possessions on that shore; but do not Southern people see and feel that the people of that



coast would not remain in the Union, if they had to send their representatives to Congress by routes such as the present? We also had motives of interest. We wanted the trade of India and China, and he (Mr. P.) and the citizens of Arkansas, naturally enough wanted it to come through that State, in the hope that it would increase the value of their lands, and extend by other means their commerce. The people of Charleston also wanted it to pass through their city, because it would increase their business and add to their wealth. In all this there was much of self-interest, and it was right that it should be so. Who was not aware that a moneyed power in Wall Street governed the Legislature in Albany, and that the same principles prevailed more or less everywhere?

Now he would ask if there was any more prospect of this road being built by the general government than there was six years ago? Not one whit. It was well understood in the city of Washington that there was no chance whatever of getting lands to aid in the construction of this road. The Special Committee in Congress, to whom the subject had been referred, had given up the idea; and General Rusk, of Texas, had drafted another bill, in which he had said not a word about lands, but as chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, wanted the government to give a bid for mail service for several years, and to pay in advance. But he (Mr. P.) had not the most remote idea that it would be done.

His resolutions next proceeded to say, that for the South to be inactive in this matter, was to give active co-operation to the North in building a Northern railroad. He believed that such was the fact. What, then, did he propose? He proposed that the Convention should say to the South, as Hercules of old said to the wagoner, "Put your own shoulders to the wheel." Help yourselves. "God helps those only who do so: and he helps none others." It was useless to come together, year after year, and time after time, in Convention, urging Congress to do this thing. They had been so urged nearly every year for some years past, not only by Conventions, but by the Legislatures of Southern States. They had had "line upon line, and precept upon precept," and now it appeared to him that it was time the South should help themselves. And here he should say that the true way for the North and the South to live peaceably together was for the South to become independent of the North. [Great applause.] Not independent by tearing the national flag asunder, and breaking up this glorious union of the States; but independent as God in his providence intended we should be, when he conferred upon the South all the natural advantages she possesses. He believed the South ought to be independent of the North in the Union, and not out of it. [Much applause.] If the South wanted the Southern road built, they might as well begin to build it in that way, as to have Congress build it; for if ever Congress did build it, the South would have to pay for the Northern route. And if the South was not able to do it, the members of the Convention had better go home at once and say no more about a Pacific Railroad. For so far as he was concerned, he was ashamed to ask Congress to build the road with Northern money. [Continued applause.] He would therefore propose that the Southern States should confederate together, not by any unlawful confederation, but in a legal union, for the purpose of building with their own funds this great Southern highway to the Pacific. [Rapturous applause.] Dealing as independent States, negotiating if need be with Mexico for the land; asking no favors from the Northern States; and telling the general government, "if you want your mails carried over our road, you will have to pay us the price that we charge, or build a road for yourselves. [Long-continued applause.]

Now, there were two considerations in regard to this road, which always struck him with force. He did not think that either the general govern-

ment or any single State should own such an enormous monopoly. He would rather see twenty "Banks of the United States" than such a monopoly in the hands of any government. It would create a perfect army of office-holders, if the government owned it.

He was equally disinclined to see the road in the hands of any individual company, for it would be the most enormous monopoly the world ever saw. The East India Company, who had dethroned kings, would hardly be worth the name of a monopoly in comparison to this. No, no; the road ought to be held by the States as partners, and there would then be no danger of its being a monopoly. But in what way was the South to build the road and own it? Imagine the State of Virginia enacting a law to this effect:—

"Be it enacted by the legislature of Virginia, that the States of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and so on, through all the fourteen States, be incorporated into a body politic for the construction of a Southern Pacific Railroad."

When would there in all the annals of time be a more glorious confederation? [Cheers.] It would not be a confederation to carry on war, but to turn the commerce of the world across that portion of the country which we inherit. That is the kind of company that he would form. [Applause.] Could the South form it? He saw no difficulty. The bonds of the company being given, and the stock hypothecated, where was the difficulty? None whatever.

Nay more, he believed that in twenty-five or thirty years there would not be a State in the Union that would have to be taxed a single dollar, but that the road would by that time have paid for itself. Neither was he in favor of giving the profits of this road to the general government. If, however, they could not get it in any other way, let them be clamorous for the government to provide it. But his opinion was, that if it could not be built in the way he had suggested, they had better fold their arms and turn their attention to some scheme more practicable.

Something had been said in these resolutions with regard to Indian tribes on the frontier. This was nonsense. The lands owned by the Indians through which such a road would have to pass, were owned by men who were our natural allies—men who were rich in wealth, and who cultivated the arts of peace, and had already applied to us to give them a territorial government suited to their own peculiar institutions. He referred to the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and Cherokees. He looked to the country of the Chickasaw for that territory out of which to make another slave State. Many of those Indians themselves owned slaves. They wished to join us. They were willing to subscribe to our railroads, and it was important that we should secure their co-operation.

He had now detained the Convention longer than he intended. He did not rise to make a set speech. He thought it was enough to suggest this plan to the Convention. He cared not about the details. The idea was that the Southern States should confederate together and build the road themselves. [Applause.]

After a few other remarks, which, at the late hour of the preparation of this report it was impossible to prepare for our issue, Mr. P. concluded by returning thanks for the indulgence of the Convention. He was loudly applauded throughout.

Hon. J. C. Jones, of Tennessee, next addressed the Convention for an hour in an elaborate speech, in which he investigated the question of the constitutionality of the general government giving aid to such projects; and argued that it was not only not contrary to constitutional principles, but that it was an absolute obligation devolving upon the government by the constitution itself.

Lieut. Maury followed in a short speech, in which he advocated the propriety of the government making this road at its own cost, to be free to all the people of the United States, on payment of the mere cost of the locomotive power.

The several resolutions were then referred to the General Committee, and the Convention adjourned.

#### Art. X.—GUANO IN THE CANE-FIELD.

[We take the following from a late number of the *New-Orleans Delta* :—]

ESTATE OF EDMUND J. FORESTALL, PARISH OF ST. JAMES.—VICTOR J. FORESTALL'S DIARY.

*March 31, 1853.—Sugar-Cane Plant.*—Opened a furrow between two rows of canes, put in a tract of Guano, and covered the same by plough; prepared in the same manner twenty-five arpents, using about two hundred and twenty pounds of Guano to each arpent.

Opened a furrow close to each row of canes, each side, applied the Guano in the same manner, and putting in the same quantity as above, on twenty-five arpents.

*Note.*—The above two pieces of land are selected for an experiment, because of their requiring renovation, and being used this season not to lose extra plant-caness remaining.

*April 6, 1853.—Corn.*—Applied to each hole one handful of Guano, covering the same; sowed five arpents of corn.

*April 6, 1853.—Orchard.*—Prepared a circular ditch, one foot deep, of the diameter of each tree, put in a tract of Guano, and filled up the ditch with earth.

*March, 1854.—Result.*—The above fifty arpents of Guano canes turned out the largest and heaviest canes in the field, and produced first and second clarified sugars, two thousand five hundred pounds per arpent. On the same ground I had never before obtained more than one thousand pounds per arpent, and the canes were always small, compared to other parts of the field; this season it was the reverse for both stand and size, and the ratoons promise unusually well. With Guano, I feel convinced, no rotation of crop is required to produce the finest and heaviest canes in Louisiana. The canes with Guano near each row were comparatively the best, and ripened earlier.

My corn-field produced on an average twenty barrels to the arpent; the five arpents of guano corn accurately measured, produced forty-five barrels to the arpent. The orchard had ever produced but very poor fruit, and always gummy, with

abundance of worms; with the guano, it produced an unusually large crop of delicious peaches, free from gum and worms; and some very old pear-trees, which had never produced before, a few very fine pears.

ESTATE OF BROWN, BROTHERS AND CO., PARISH ST. JAMES.—FRANK LAPIEE'S DIARY.

*April 27, 1853.—Guano on Plant Cane.*—Selected my worst cow lands, in four different parts of the field, on which I never had been able to obtain a large cane and a good stand; opened furrows close to each row, six feet apart, put in a tract of guano, say one hundred and fifty pounds per arpent, covering the same by plough, in twenty-five arpents; had a good shower immediately after.

*June 3, 1853.*—On this day no difference perceivable; added one hundred and fifty pounds of guano per arpent.

*June 16, 1853.*—Difference between the guano canes and the other plants in the field quite apparent, being of a deep green, and fully one foot higher than all other canes.

*August 1, 1853.*—Never saw a heavier stand and higher canes in this State, than the guano canes on this day.

*October 26, 1853.*—Guano canes all laid down flat by their heaviness and rains.

*December 15, 1853.*—Ground five arpents of the above canes, which weighed ten beaume, whilst other canes in the field only weighed eight and a half. These produced two thousand pounds to the arpent of refined sugars. Bad weather and the twisted condition of the canes laid down, prevented my ascertaining accurately the yield of the balance of the twenty-five arpents.

*June 16, 1853.—Ratoons.*—Applied as an experiment, two hundred pounds guano to two arpents of inferior ratoons; rain came on immediately after.

*Note.*—These ratoons soon afterwards shoot out rapidly, and produced double the quantity of canes of other ratoons in the same piece, and double the size.

*March 16, 1854.*—The guano ratoons have already a full stand, and are comparatively the finest in the field, so much so that I am preparing to apply some guano to as large a portion of the ratoons as I may be permitted to do.



## Art. XL—BRITISH AND FRENCH RAILROADS.

ACCORDING to the last Report of Parliament, there were, in England and Wales :

	30th June, 1852.	30th June, 1853.
Length (in English miles).....	5,434.....	5,747
In a half year—Passengers, first class.....	4,082,919.....	4,862,691
" second ".....	12,598,138.....	13,935,812
" third ".....	5,360,113.....	6,695,148
" lowest ".....	10,635,358.....	11,816,805
" season tickets.....	5,887.....	6,888
Total of Passengers for six months.....	32,682,415.....	37,317,544
Receipts—Of the first class.....	£911,289.....	£1,029,292
" second do.....	1,146,636.....	1,193,180
" third do.....	213,178.....	298,696
" lowest class.....	607,604.....	640,151
" season tickets.....	50,363.....	50,792
Total of Passengers' Receipts.....	£2,929,070.....	£3,219,002
" Freight Transport.....	3,239,243.....	3,810,243
Total.....	£6,168,313.....	£7,029,245
In the entire kingdom, miles.....	7,076.....	7,572
Passengers.....	39,249,605.....	45,080,316
Receipts of Passengers.....	£3,396,024.....	£3,732,258
" Freight Transport.....	3,799,526.....	4,451,798
Total Receipts.....	£7,195,550.....	£8,184,056

In England and Wales the passengers made 543,258,027 miles ; the passenger cars, 14,233,488 ; the freight cars, 12,092,419 miles. The number of freight trains reached to 477,991 ; and that of the passenger trains to 218,783.

## FRENCH RAILROADS.

In England and in the United States, genius and enterprising spirit, as early as the years 1820–30, diminished or almost annihilated space, by means of the greatest invention of the present century—the locomotive. The example was imitated by Belgium in 1835, and in Germany a short time afterwards. France seemed, until 1840, to have very little interest in that mighty promoter of civilization. The railroads from St. Etienne to the Loire, (1830), to the Rhone, (1832), applied by the horse instead of steam, were used only for the transportation of coal. That of St. Germain, (1837), and the others of Paris and Versailles, (1839 and 1840), were more for the pleasure-seeking Parisians than for commercial purposes. Before 1840, the only considerable business-line was the Strasbourg-Basle Railroad, which,

however, was not open in its entire length before 15th August, 1841.

To this delay of France it is to be ascribed that, concerning the length of railroads in proportion to her territorial extent and population, she takes at present only the fifth rank in Europe. In 1853 the relation of France, in regard to railroads, to the other powers may be thus expressed:—Great Britain, 3·91; Belgium, 3·06; smaller German States, 1·30; Prussia, 1·06; France, only 0·77. To one million of inhabitants in the four first-mentioned States, 440, 221, 185, 182; in France, only 113·7 kilom. Since 1841, especially since the issue of the decree of June 11, promising the support of government to private enterprise, we meet with a very gratifying improvement. In 1852 alone, 267 kilom. have been opened to the public. The concessions for railroad charters which were demanded in 1852 and 1853, amounted to more than two millions of francs, &c.

The French railroad works connect her, by the line of Rouen, Havre, and Dieppe, with England and America; by the northern tracts, and their branches over Bologna, Calais, and Dunkirchen, with England, Belgium, Prussia, and the European north; by the Strasbourg-Basle line, with South and Central Germany and Switzerland; by the lines of Nantes and Bordeaux, with the ocean, &c., &c.; while branch lines in the interior are constantly increasing, and the Paris Round Railroad (*chemin de ceinture*) will bring all French railroads in connection with each other.

A recently published work,\* treating on French railroads in use or under construction, and also on those for which the government's concessions have been granted, gives us an account of the date of the concession, of the opening of the single tracts, the personnel and composition of the Boards, number and amount of the shares, stocks, costs of construction, and funds of maintenance; also the annual receipts per kilom., up to 1853, &c.—a book which highly deserves the praise of all national economists and business men.

According to the author, the costs of construction of the French railroads keep the medium between the high English and the low American, as, on the average, the English amount per kilom. to 540,500, in the United States to 125,000, and in France 333,333 francs. The receipts amounted, on the French railroads, in 1851, per kilom., to 32,345, and in 1852, to 35,673 francs. In the first quarter of 1853, a great increase seemed to be prevailing; but the results for the whole year are not yet made known. In the whole there were railroads in France—

\* Les Chemins de fer Francais, p. Viet. Bois. Paris, 1854.

	In use.	Under construction.	Proposed.	Total.
In 1851...	3,307 kilom.	1,337 kilom.	1,876 kilom.	6,560 kilom.
" 1852...	3,708 "	1,397 "	2,600 "	7,705 "
" 1853...	4,070 "	1,890 "	3,665 "	9,625 "

The total receipts were—in 1851, 106,967,496 frs. ; 1852, 132,277,905 frs. ; and, to judge from the results of the first quarter, 1853 will give a much higher amount. In Europe there were, in 1853, either already constructed, or being about to be constructed, 52,011 kilom., of which 45,589 were opened.\*

### Art. XII.—EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

*History of the Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote of La Mancha.* Translated from the Spanish, by Motteux. A new edition, with copious Notes ; and an Essay on the Life and Writings of Cervantes, by John G. Lockhart, Esq. In four volumes. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. 1854. A new and very beautiful American edition of this world-famed work. Blackwood has said of it, "the English reader is now in possession of an edition of Don Quixote, not only infinitely superior to any that ever appeared in England, but, so far as we are able to judge, much more complete and satisfactory than any one which exists, on the literature of Spain herself."

*Theological Essays and other Papers*, by Thomas De Quincey, author of "Confessions of an English Opium Eater," etc. In two volumes. Boston : Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. Vol. I. contains Christianity an Organ of Political Movement—Protestantism—Supposed Scriptural Expression for Eternity—Judas Iscariot—Hume's Argument against Miracles—Casuistry—Greece under the Romans. Vol. II. : Secession from the Church of Scotland—Toilette of the Hebrew Lady—Milton—Charlemagne—Modern Greece—Lord Carlisle on Pope.

*Life in Abyssinia.* Being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country. By Mansfield Parkyns. In two vols. With Illustrations. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1854. *The Southern Literary Messenger* says of the work : "It is one of the most entertaining books of travel which we have met with for a long time. Mr. Parkyns interests us from the beginning. His style would be a bad one for almost anything but a book of travels. A very odd and pleasant humor is at times mingled with the details of his journeyings. The work contains a great deal of important and entertaining matter, told in a fresh and popular style."

*The Hive of the Bee-Hunter.* A Repository of Sketches, including Peculiar American Character, Scenery and Rural Sports, by B. Thorpe of Louisiana, author of "John Owen the Bee-Hunter," "Mysteries of the Backwoods," &c. Illustrated by Sketches from Nature. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1854. A book of rare interest and humor. Among the sketches are Wild Turkey Hunting, Grizzly Bear Hunting, A Piano in Arkansas, Wild Cat Hunting, Alligator Killing, Buffalo Hunting, Opossum Hunting, &c., &c.

*Farmingdale*, by Caroline Thomas. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1854. This work is said to excel in interest, and to be quite equal in its delineation of character, to the "Wide, Wide World."

*Wensley.* A Story Without a Moral. Boston : Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. A very lively and interesting story, which appeared originally in *Putnam's Magazine*, running through many numbers.

\* The French kilometre is 1,093 English yards, or near two-thirds of a mile.

*A Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages.* Abridged from the author's larger work. By Mariano Velasquez de la Cadena. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. The writer's larger work acquired a very high reputation. He is Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature in Columbia College, New-York, and is widely known by reputation. The whole work is very compact, and handsomely issued.

*Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions:* The Pursuit of Truth, and on other Subjects, by Samuel Bailey. Late edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. A very philosophical work, and full of profound thought.

*British Poets.* A complete Collection of the British Poets, from Chaucer to Wordsworth: Embracing the whole Works of the most Distinguished Authors, with Selections from the Minor Poets; Accompanied with Biographical, Historical, and Critical Notices. Edited by F. J. Child, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. We have just received Henry Kirke White, William Falconer, James Beattie, Thomas Hood. 2 vols.

The size and style of the volumes are those of Pickering's Aldine Poets, and such of the works of that edition as fall entirely within the plan of the present collection, will be embodied in it. Each separate work is sold by itself, and the price of each volume is 75 cents. The following volumes, in addition, have already been published:—Butler, 2 vols.; Churchill, 3 vols.; Collins, 1 vol.; Cowper, 3 vols.; Dryden, 5 vols.; Goldsmith, 1 vol.; Gray, 1 vol.; Milton, 3 vols.; Parnell, 1 vol.; Pope, 3 vols.; Prior, 2 vols.; Thomson, 2 vols.; Swift, 3 vols.; Young, 2 vols.

*Africa and the American Flag,* by Commander A. H. Foote, U. S. N., late Commanding United States Brig Perry, on the Coast of Africa, 1850-51. New-York: D. Appleton. A full analysis of this will appear in an early number of the REVIEW.

**NEW-ORLEANS FREE LIBRARY.**—We have frequently adverted to this Library, and regretted that adequate provision was not made by the Councils of New-Orleans to carry out the intentions of Mr. Fisk, the liberal founder. Mr. B. F. French, who deserves almost equal credit with Mr. Fisk, has donated, and caused to be donated, a very large number of most valuable books to the Library, and still continues his attentions.

All that is now needed is but an energetic movement on the part of the citizens and City Councils, to give to this city one of the largest libraries in the United States. Such a Library would put the finishing hand to that system of public education which lies at the basis of her prosperity, and which, together with her charitable and other institutions, must make her one of the most delightful residences in the South. A Public Library, well supplied with books in the various departments of literature, art, and science, and open at all times to the stranger, to the student, to the youth of our Public Schools, and to the adult citizens, *free of charge*, is now absolutely needed to make our admirable system of Public Education complete, and to continue in some degree through life, that happy equality of intellectual privileges which now exists in our public schools, but which, without Free Libraries, must terminate with them.

*Pamphlet on the Montgomery and Pensacola Railroad,* by A. H. Jones of Florida, will be extracted from in our next, and also a pamphlet on the *Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad*, by Mr. Troost.



# DE BOW'S INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

OF THE

## SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES.

3 Vols.—Large 8vo.—Fine print, paper and binding. Price \$10. \$3 33 per vol.

(Postage Free, if remittance direct to office, without agents' commission.)

This work, which is a condensation and rearrangement of all the important papers, articles and statistics that have appeared in the Thirteen Published Volumes of De Bow's Review, is now ready for delivery.

The subjects in it are arranged alphabetically, as in the Encyclopedias, and are generally brought down to date. They will be sent postage free where the amount is remitted direct to the New-Orleans Office.

Sets of the INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES can be had at the leading bookstores in the United States as also single numbers and bound volumes of the Review.

## THE GREAT FAMILY AND PLANTATION MEDICINE!

### WRIGHT'S INDIAN VEGETABLE PILLS.

THE great and increasing sale of this excellent medicine proves the high estimation in which it is held by the entire community. In the South and Southwest it is now fully appreciated. Entirely a vegetable composition, its use is unattended by the serious injury consequent upon mineral remedies, which, even if they do sometimes relieve one disease, invariably produce half a dozen others in its place, rendering it more difficult to recover from the effects of the medicine, than from the disease for which it was taken.

In the fevers and other complaints incident to southern and southwestern life, Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills are unsurpassed in efficacy. They have cured YELLOW FEVER after every other remedy had failed. They have broken up the AGUE and BILIOUS FEVER in all their forms. They are thoroughly anti-bilious in their action; powerful for good, and yet innocent of evil.

If resorted to in time this medicine will be found to answer all the requirements of the family and Plantation. Either ADULTS or CHILDREN afflicted with any of the prevalent disorders will find a dose or two of this medicine thoroughly efficacious—not only curing the immediate sickness, but PURIFYING the BLOOD, AIDING the CIRCULATION and improving the general health.

Space will not allow of the introduction of the numerous testimonials received by the proprietor. He therefore subjoins only two or three of them, the first of which was received from Vera Cruz, in 1849, while the Yellow Fever was quite prevalent, and is signed, as will be seen, by the HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITIES of that city.

#### TRANSLATION.

We, the undersigned, licensed Physicians in and for the city of Vera Cruz, do hereby certify, that we have used **Dr. W. Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills**, bought of Mr. Felix Rovira, Agent in this city, and having applied said Pills to cure the different diseases for which they are recommended by Dr. Wright, we have found them in every respect satisfactory, and we therefore recommend their use to every person in the republic who may be suffering from any of the maladies for which they are recommended by their inventor.—And in order that the present certificate may be used as convenient to the parties, we have signed it in Vera Cruz, this 10th day of August, 1849.

(Signed,)

GEORGE GAIDAN.

MANUEL HOVAD.

FORBES' TOWN, Butte Co., California, March 26th, 1854.

Sir:—I take upon me to forward you a few lines, to let you know that I have been using your very effective medicine for over one year. What the name of my complaint is I cannot say, but your Pills have made a very great alteration in my outward appearance and my inward feeling is most pleasant to what it was. I had had health for a considerable time, and had tried a great many remedies, but all proved to have no effect; in fact, your Pills are the only medicine that I have ever found equal to recommendations. I can assure you that I value them more than the gold I am digging, and trust that I shall always have some of them beside me.

I remain, your well-wisher,

JAMES HALKET.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., April 29, 1854, 410 Liberty Street.

Dear Sir:—I feel much pleasure in testifying to the excellence of your **Indian Vegetable Pills** as a cure and preventive of Diarrhoea. Last year I suffered very severely during many weeks from this horrible disease, being all the time under the care of physicians, and constantly taking medicine, from which I derived no benefit. At last I was induced to take a dose of your Vegetable Pills, and found four Pills not only effect an entire cure, but so radically to change my system that I have never been troubled with the complaint since—my general health being so good that all my friends remark upon the improvement.

Yours, respectfully,

JOHN THOMPSON.

To Dr. WM. WRIGHT, 169 Race St., Philad'a, Pa.

The genuine may be had of J. WRIGHT & Co., Chartres Street, and A. BRONFEN, 74 Camp Street, New-Orleans; M. BOULENET, Mobile; HAVILAND, HARROL & Co., Charleston; and by the principal dealers throughout the United States and Canada. Principal office, to which all communications must be addressed, 169 Race Street, Philadelphia.



# CHERRY PECTORAL,

For the rapid Cure of

## COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

Among the numerous discoveries Science has made in this generation to facilitate the business of life, increase its enjoyment, and even prolong the term of human existence, none can be named of more real value to mankind than this contribution of Chemistry to the Healing Art. A vast trial of its virtues throughout this broad country, has proven beyond a doubt, that no medicine or combination of medicines yet known, can so surely control and cure the numerous varieties of pulmonary disease which have hitherto swept from our midst thousands and thousands every year. Indeed, there is now abundant reason to believe a Remedy has at length been found which can be relied on, to cure the most dangerous affections of the lungs. Our space here will not permit us to publish any proportion of the cures effected by its use, but we would present the following; and refer further inquiry to my American Almanac, which the agents below named will always be pleased to furnish free, wherein are all particulars, and indisputable proof of these statements.

Office of Transportation, Laurens R. R., S. C., Aug. 4, 1853.  
J. C. AYER. Dear Sir,—My little son, four years old, has just recovered from a severe attack of malignant Scarlet Fever; his throat was rotten, and every person that visited him, pronounced him a dead child. Having used your CHERRY PECTORAL in California, in the winter of 1850, for a severe attack of Bronchitis with entire success, I was induced to try it on my little boy. I gave him a teaspoonful every three hours, commencing in the morning, and by ten o'clock at night, I found a decided change for the better; and after three days use, he was able to eat or drink without pain.

Its use in the above named disease will save many a child from a premature grave, and relieve the anxiety of many a fond parent. For all affections of the Throat and Lungs, I believe it the best medicine extant. A feeling of the deepest gratitude prompts me in addressing you these lines;—but for your important discovery, my little boy would now have been in another world.

I am yours, with great respect,  
J. D. POWELL, Supt. Trans., L. R. R.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., September 58, 1850.  
Dr. J. C. AYER. My dear Sir.—Your medicine is much approved of by those who have used it here, and its composition is such as to insure and maintain its reputation. I invariably recommend it for pulmonary affections, as do many of our principal physicians.

I am your friend,  
CHAS. STREATER, M. D.

**Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass.**

Sold by J. Wright & Co., New-Orleans; P. H. McGraw, Natchez; Morris Emanuel, Vicksburg; Wright & Elder, Woodville; C. T. Mann, Yazoo City; A. J. McGill, Port Gibson; John Poesay, Opelousas; C. De Mansebert, Booth & Gurthri, Memphis, Tenn.; Jos. Tucker, Mobile; Strong and Stevenson, Knoxville, Tenn.; F. Eckstein, jun., Cincinnati; Francis, Walter & Warren, St. Louis; and by all Druggists everywhere.

## ZINC PAINTS.

THE NEW-JERSEY ZINC COMPANY are now manufacturing these Paints, of superior quality. Their advantages over other Paints are—

1st. They are not poisonous. Sleeping apartments, recently painted, may be occupied with impunity, and painters using these paints are not subject to the distressing maladies arising from the use of lead.

2d. Their beauty and durability. Zinc, on inside work, becomes much harder than any other paint, and is not easily soiled; is whiter than pure white lead, and as it retains its whiteness and brilliancy unaffected by bilge water, coal, or sulphurous gases, it is unrivalled as a paint for ships and steamboats. For outside use, exposed to weather or water, Zinc Paints will retain their color and preserving qualities long after other paints are destroyed.

3d. The White Zinc Paints will cover (equal weights) about two thirds more surface than pure lead—this, in connection with their greater durability, makes in the long run the cost of painting with Zinc less than half the cost of lead.

Brown and Brown Stone Color Zinc Paints, which are sold at low prices, are well adapted for painting roofs, out-buildings, and all metallic surfaces, particularly iron, which they effectually protect from rusting, exposed to either heat or weather. These Paints are prepared in the same manner, and may be used in all respects like White Lead. They are for sale by many of the principal dealers in the cities and large towns of the Union, and by the Company's Agents,

MANNING & SQUIER,  
45 Dey-street, N. Y.

N. B.—All Paints manufactured by this Company are warranted pure.

**WICKERSHAM'S IRON WORK.**—Farm Fences, Wire Railings, Iron Bedsteads, &c. The most extensive assortment of Ornamental Iron Work in the United States. JOHN B. WICKERSHAM.

Warehouse, 312 Broadway.  
Works, 57, 59, and 61 Lewis-st., New-York.

**ROBERT L. MARTIN, No. 38** North Front-st., Philadelphia, Commission Merchant for the sale of Cotton, and Woollen Yarns and Wool. Orders for every description of Cotton and Woollen Machinery, and Steam Engines for manufacturing purposes, promptly executed.

**R. P. HOWELL, Commission Agent, 75 and 77 Water-street, Mobile.**

**PELEG BROWN & Co., Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, No. 21 St. Francis-street, Mobile.**

## SALAMANDER SAFES.

**EVANS & WATSON, No. 89** Dock-street, Philadelphia, have now on hand a large assortment of their Patent Salamander Fire and Thief Proof Safes, for Papers, Books, Jewelry, &c.

Fire-Proof Doors for Banks and Stores.

Sole Agency for Butterworth's celebrated Bank Vault and Door Locks. These Locks bid defiance to all Lock Picks, Hobbs' included.

Patent Slate-Lined Refrigerators, Water-Filters, &c.

**H. O. BREWER & Co., General Merchants, and Collecting Agents. Also, Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Exchanges, Mobile.**

Particular attention given to the collection of notes, drafts, &c. Proceeds promptly remitted.

References.—Merchants' Bank, Boston; Philadelphia Bank, Phil.; Bank of the State of New-York, N. Y.; Merchants' Bank, Balt.; Bank of the Republic, N. Y.; Bank of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.; Mess. Center & Co., N. Y.

## TREDEGAR LOCOMOTIVE WORKS, Richmond, Virginia.

The subscribers having greatly extended their works, are prepared to execute orders promptly, for Locomotives, as well as Stationary Engines and Sugar Mills, and solicit the patronage of Railroad Companies, Planters, and all others in want of Machines.

ANDERSON & SOUTHER.

## CLARK, AUSTIN & SMITH,

Wholesale Booksellers, 3 Park-row and 3 Ann-street, New-York, offer to all dealers in Books and Stationery, either in large or small quantities, as varied an assortment of School, Classical, and Miscellaneous Books as there is to be found in the city of New-York, or elsewhere. Also, Blank Books, Writing and Wrapping Papers, Envelopes, &c.

## SEWING MACHINES for sewing

leather, cloth, and all fabrics, thin or thick, with a new and secure stitch made by two threads direct from spools. These machines are of so simple a construction that any one can work them, and there being no shuttle used, are not liable to get out of repair. One person with a machine will do the work of twelve, and as strong as, and far more uniform and beautiful than can be done by hand. Prices from \$60 to \$150. Descriptive pamphlets mailed upon request. GROVER, BAKER, & Co., 94 Chambers-street, N. York; Haymarket-square, Boston.

**S. I. & I. I. JONES, Auctioneers** and General Commission Merchants. Also agents for the sale of Virginia manufactured Tobacco, Mobile.

## ARKANSAS AGENCY.

**WHIT. F. GREENFIELD,**  
ATTORNEY AT LAW AND GENERAL LAND AGENT,

*Pine Bluff, Jefferson Co., Arkansas.*

Will attend to the purchase and sale of Land, perfecting Land Titles, establishing Head Rights, locating Land Warrants, and payment of Taxes on same.

As he is well acquainted with the country, persons who buy Land Scrip at a reduced price would do well to pay him a moderate fee for locating the same.

Land office in this town.

## CRESCENT SEEDLING STRAWBERRY.

PLANTS FOR SALE.

THE undersigned offers for sale a few thousands of the above celebrated variety of Strawberries, which for productiveness is unequalled by any now under cultivation.

This remarkable fruit continues in constant bearing six consecutive months in the year, from January to July.

The berry often measures from 3/4 to 4 inches in circumference, and abounds with a most exceedingly delicious and highly flavored juice. These plants were all raised in my garden the past season, are in fine order, and now ready for immediate planting. They will be sold at \$5 per hundred.

Orders addressed to me through the post-office, or at my office, No. 24 Carondelet-street, New-Orleans, will be promptly attended to.

HENRY LAWRENCE.

## WINTER IRON WORKS,

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

## Portable Circular Saw Mills.

THESE MILLS are warranted unsurpassed by any in use; are propelled by an engine of 12 inch bore of cylinder, and present the latest and best improvements throughout; among these the patent self-coiling boxes is exclusively used—Hoxie's continuous Feed Works, &c.

Price, delivered at the Factory, \$2,500—less than \$100 additional will defray the freight to Savannah, Augusta, Charleston, or New-Orleans.

Examination of these Mills is alone required to establish their exceeding simplicity, cheapness, durability, and superiority throughout.

All descriptions of Engine and Mill Work furnished at short notice, and fully warranted.

Address  
J. S. WINTER,  
Agent W. I. Works.

**A. M. COFFIN, Commission Merchant, 53 Front-st., New-York, Manufacturer of Split Peas, Dealer in Butter, Cheese, Lard, Soap, Candles, Dried Fruits, Beans, Peas, Seeds, Pearl, Barley, &c. Merchandise packed for California and Australia.**

**GEO. W. SIZER**, Agricultural Warehouse, corner of Magazine and Poydras streets, New-Orleans.

**J. B. STEEL**, Bookseller, Stationer, and Publisher, 60 Camp-st., N. Orleans. \* Stationery, School Books, Standard, Law, Medical, Literary, and Scientific Works, at Northern publishers' prices. \* French works on Civil Law, at low prices.

**CHITTENDEN & DAMERON**, Dealers in Carpeting, Oil Cloths, and Housekeeping Dry Goods, 26 Chartres-st., and 37 Customhouse-street, New-Orleans.

**JOHN M. GOULD**, Dealer in Boots, Shoes, and Hats, No. 8 Magazine-street, New-Orleans.

**FRANCIS FABRE & Co.**, Fashionable Clothing Establishment, Wholesale and Retail, cor. of Common and St. Charles-sts., under the St. Charles Hotel, New-Orleans.

**SCOTT & SEARING**, Wholesale and Retail Clothiers, 58 and 60 Canal, corner of Old Levee-street, New-Orleans. **JOHN D. SCOTT**, New-York. **GEORGE SEARING**.

**WRIGHT, WILLIAMS & Co.**, Cotton Factors, No. 120 Gravier-st., New-Orleans.

**ARMSTRONG, HARRIS & Co.**, General Commission and Forwarding Merchants, and Agents for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company from New-Orleans to California and Oregon. Office, No. 43 Natchez-st., New Orleans.

**G. N. MORISON**, Wholesale Druggist, and Dealer in Paints, Oils, Glass, Dye Stuffs, Perfumery, &c., 12 Magazine-st., New-Orleans.

**F. P. DUCONGE**, Druggist, Importer of French and English Chemicals, 39 Chartres-st., N. O.

**THOMAS RANKIN**, Retail and Plantation Druggist, corner of Camp and Poydras streets, N. O.

**DEET, SIMMS & Co.**, Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Dry Goods, 25 Magazine-st., N. O.

**NILES & Co.**, Cincinnati, Ohio, Manufacturers of Engines, Sugar Mills, &c., &c. **BURBIDOX & ADAMS**, Agents, No. 65 Gravier-st., New-Orleans.

**E. J. HART & Co.**, 79 Tchoupitoulas-street, N. O., Wholesale Dealers in Groceries, Wines, Liquors, Teas, Spices, &c., Sulphate Quinine, and Staple Drugs by the Package or Case, Colman's Patent Undulatory Corn Mill.

**LITTLEJOHN & HENDERSON**, Wholesale Grocers, No. 66 Magazine-st., cor. Natchez, N. O.

**JOS LITTLEJOHN**, SAM HENDERSON

**H. B. HULKLEY**, (late Young & Co.) Importer and Dealer in Jewelry, Fine Watches, Silver Ware, Fancy Goods, &c., &c., No. 8 Camp-street, New-Orleans.

**V. H. IVY**, Attorney at Law, New-Orleans.

**SLARK, DAY & STAUFFER**, Dealers in Hardware, Iron, and Nails, Tin Plates, Copper, &c., 64 Canal-st., N. O. Agents for Page's Portable Saw-Mills.

**R. RICHARDS**, 11 Chartres-st., N. O., Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Foreign and Domestic Hardware, Cutlery, Iron, Steel, Oils, Paints, Nails, Axes, Hoes, Traces, &c.

**F. F. FOLGER & Co.**, 17 New Levee, 32 and 34 Tchoupitoulas-st., N. O. Hardware, Cutlery, Iron, Steel, Nails, Castings, Chains, Anchors, Cordage, Axes, Hoes, Millstones, Grindstones, Paints, Oils, Oakum, Tar, Pitch, Glass, &c., &c.

**NEW ORLEANS FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE CO.**, 56 Canal-st., New-Orleans. Capital, \$200,000. **J. M. Lapeyre**, President. **J. Tuyen**, Sec'y. This Company returns ten per cent. on all premiums paid.

**NEWTON RICHARDS**, Granite and Marble Yard, 147 Customhouse-street, between Dauphine and Burgundy-streets, N. O. Fronts of Buildings, Door Fronts, Water Tables, Steps, Window Sills and Lintels, Tombs, Monuments, &c., furnished and put up at short notice, and on the most reasonable terms.

**A. CHIAPELLA**, Notary Public, No. 87 Royal, near Conti-st., Notary for the Louisiana State Bank and Branch.

**S. M. TODD & Co.**, Dealers in Paints, Oils, Glass, Brushes, Varnishes, Gold Leaf, Bronzes, Artists' Fine Colors and Tools, &c., No. 90 Magazine-street, N. O.

**ANDREW G. BULL & Co.**, Manufacturers and Dealers in Saddlery, and Saddlery Ware, No. 15 Canal-street, New-Orleans.

**JAMES R. JENNINGS**, Commission Merchant, and Agent of the U. S. Mail Steamship Company, for Havana, Chagres, Key West, Charleston, and New-York. Days of sailing—10th and 25th of each month. No. 95 Magazine-street, N. Orleans.

**TEXAS AND NEW ORLEANS MAIL LINE OF LOW-PRESSURE STEAMSHIPS**. Louisiana—Mexico—Meteor—Yacht. Harris & Morgan, No. 79 Tchoupitoulas-st., N. O. These steamers leave New-Orleans semi-weekly.

**SPENCER FIELD**, Dealer in Pittsburg, Anthracite, and English Coal. Office, No. 18 Poydras-street, New-Orleans.

**A. BROUSSEAU & CO.**, Importers and Dealers in Carpets, Floor Oil Cloth, Matting, &c., No. 23 Chartres-street, New-Orleans.

**J. D. B. DE BOW**, Attorney and J. Counsellor at Law, N. Orleans.

**MILES & ADAMS**, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, No. 23 Carondelet-street, New-Orleans, La.

**WILLIAM R. MILES**, **DANIEL W. ADAMS**.

**SHERMAN'S NEW PATENT** Truss and Rupture Remedy, will speedily effect a permanent cure in all forms of Hernia or Rupture. The Truss is formed on the true principles of surgery, and differs in principle of action from all others: it will bear directly on the hernial ring, and thereby retain the worst forms of hernia under the most violent exercise, and without any inconvenience to the wearer. The Wash, or Remedy, facilitates, and adds permanency to the cure. It is also an effectual preventive against rupture where there are any symptoms of predisposition to it. To guard against impositions, the proprietor has concluded to form no agencies, but to furnish the Remedy and apply the Truss at his office, No. 70 St. Charles-st., N. Orleans. Persons sending for a Truss, must state the side the rupture is on, and the number of inches around the hips.

Remember by the use of this Truss and Wash, there need be no fear of strangulation, with all its horrors.

**A. CARRIERE**, Importer of French Wines and Brandy, Oils, Holland Gin, &c., No. 23 Old Levee-st., New-Orleans.

**THOMPSON & NIXON'S** New-Orleans Fashionable Clothing Establishment, No. 19 Camp-street, opposite Hewlett's Exchange, keep constantly on hand a large and superior stock of Fashionable Clothing and Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods, comprising nearly every article pertaining to a gentleman's wardrobe.

**D. WILLIAMS & SONS**, Cotton Factors, Commission and Forwarding Merchants, No. 5 Carondelet-street, New-Orleans.

**D. WILLIAMS**, **J. SHELLEY WILLIAMS**, **J. M. WILLIAMS**.

**MARTIN UNDERHILL & Co.**, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, No. 61 Carondelet-street, New-Orleans.

**JOHN MARTIN**, **GEORGE W. UNDERHILL**, **WILLIAM BELL**.

**HARRIS, NORTON & Co.**, Wholesale Grocers, corner of Common, Tchoupitoulas and New Levee-streets, New-Orleans.

**JESSE S. HARRIS**, **JAMES NORTON**, **JOHN T. FACKLER**.

**DE CORDOVAS' Texas Band** and General Agency, Houston and Austin. Refer to Gov. P. H. Bell, Hon. Thos. H. Duval, Hon. S. Crosby, Commissioner.

**NORRIS & WAY'S** Clothing Store, No. 23 Camp-st., corner of Common, (under the City Hotel,) New-Orleans.

**COL. DICK NASH'S** Oyster Saloon, No. 97 St. Charles-street, New-Orleans. Orders from the country promptly filled.